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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 160

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Saudi Arabia's Moves To Counter Soviet Threat Analyzed (He Li; RENMIN RIBAO, 17 Dec 80)	1
U.S. Rand Corporation's Activities Discussed (Jintong; RENMIN RIBAO, 5 Nov 80)	4
'Brain Banks' Influence Japan's Policy Making (Shu Jian; RENMIN RIBAO, 19 Sep 80)	7
Modernization of Japan Traced to Meiji Restoration Period (Liang Jigui; RENMIN RIBAO, 19 Sep 80)	10
Oriana Fallaci Praised as Sharp Journalist (Ou Jian; RENMIN RIBAO, 16 Dec 80)	13

PARTY AND STATE

PRC Officials Face Questioning in People's Congresses (Cheng Ku; WEN HUI BAO, 16 Sep 80)	15
Marx' Criticism of Feudal Bureaucracy Reviewed (Cheng Rongfu; RENMIN RIBAO, 28 Oct 80)	17
District Election Excites Beijing University (Alain Jacob; LE MONDE, 6 Dec 80)	19
Propaganda Work Is To Serve Economic Construction (HANFANG RIBAO, 1 Sep 80)	21
Downfall of Lin-Jiang Cliques Described (Li Yanwu; ZHENG MING, 1 Nov 80)	25
Need To Clarify Democratic Centralism Emphasized (Ma Ming; WEN HUI BAO, 16 Sep 80)	39

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Elitism in Education Debated	
(Alain Jacob; LE MONDE, 6 Dec 80)	43
Shandong To Establish More Two-Year Technical Schools	
(Fang Hua; RENMIN RIBAO, 30 Sep 80)	45
Work of Higher Education in Shandong Under Way	
(DAZHONG RIBAO, 20, 26 Sep 80)	45
University Students	
Special Classes for Cadres	
Northeast Provinces Expand Education Program	
(XINHUA, 12 Jan 81)	50
Briefs	
Movie on Reunification	51

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SAUDI ARABIA'S MOVES TO COUNTER SOVIET THREAT ANALYZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 17 Dec 80 p 7

[News analysis by He Li [0149 4539]: "Saudi Arabia's Active Diplomatic Moves"]

[Text] The Soviet Union's aggressive strategy to move southward in the wake of its invasion of Afghanistan has aroused Saudi Arabia's deep concern and has prompted its restive leaders to denounce the Soviet actions as "part of an effort to win control of oil resources in the Middle East." Saudi Arabia is the world's most important oil producing country adjacent to the Persian Gulf. During the past year, mindful of its own security and that of other Persian Gulf nations, it has taken significant steps in reshaping its foreign and defense policies.

Saudi Arabia has taken a firm stand against the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and its attempt to expand its influence into the Persian Gulf region, a departure from its past attitude of conciliation and compromise toward that country. During the meeting of Islamic foreign ministers held early this year, the Saudi Arabian delegation took the lead in condemning the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, urging other Islamic nations to mobilize "all resources at their disposal," including oil as a weapon to thwart the Soviet move. Commenting on this, the Western newspapers said: "This unexpected swift action taken by Saudi Arabia is a striking contrast to its formerly negative and sluggish response to the major Middle East and other international crises." Since then, Saudi Arabia has repeatedly called on the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan and has given moral and material support to the Afghan people's struggle against aggression. This positive role played by Saudi Arabia undoubtedly has given strong impetus to the struggle of the Persian Gulf nations against Soviet hegemonism.

The Saudi Arabian government has repeatedly emphasized the need for the Persian Gulf nations to resolve their disputes and strengthen unity in countering external aggression and interference. Since the beginning of this year, it has launched a series of active diplomatic moves with the aim of improving its relations with its neighbors and other Persian Gulf nations and strengthening friendship and cooperation with Pakistan. By the end of 1979, stung by North Yemen's acceptance of Soviet weapons, Saudi Arabia retaliated by suspending its military and economic aid to that country, thus casting a pall over relations between the two countries. But their political, military and economic cooperation has been strengthened since the resumption of Saudi Arabia's military and economic aid to North Yemen in March 1980. The tensions between Saudi Arabia and South Yemen have

also eased as a result of the exchange of visits by each others' officials. Saudi Arabia has declared neutrality in the Iran-Iraq war, and has urged the two feuding countries to cease fire in order to avoid the danger of bringing the superpowers into the Persian Gulf conflict. When the tensions between Syria and Jordan were aggravated recently as a result of their deployment of troops along their borders, Saudi Arabia sent its Second Deputy Prime Minister Azizi to mediate between the two disputing parties. As a result of this mediation, Syria and Jordan have gradually pulled their troops from their borders, and tension between the two countries has eased to a certain degree. This diplomatic initiative taken by Saudi Arabia to unify the Arab World has been praised by people everywhere.

Since the beginning of 1980, Saudi Arabia has taken steps toward improved relations with the United States. Although their relations have been traditionally cordial, Saudi Arabia was visibly irritated by America's performances which led to the overthrow of the Shah of Iran and its mediation between Egypt and Israel which ended in the signing of the Camp David Accords. Recently, it has considered it necessary to reassess its relations with the United States for the sake of its national interests following a period of reflection. In February 1980, President Carter's National Security Adviser Brzezinski visited Saudi Arabia at its invitation. During the visit, both sides agreed that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has threatened the peace of the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. According to the American press reports, the Saudi Arabian leaders "have agreed to strengthen military cooperation with the United States in the Persian Gulf as a step in countering the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan." Saudi Arabia has also expressed support for the U.S. proposal to station a permanent military force in the Persian Gulf, and to permit it to use the local military installations, and to stage joint military exercises in coordination with the Persian Gulf nations. In early October 1980, four U.S. Air Force AWACS (airborne warning and control system) aircraft carrying advanced communication equipment arrived in Saudi Arabia in response to its request. Thus far, U.S. military personnel in that country have swelled to over 800.

Saudi Arabia has also concentrated its efforts on improving its relations with the Western European countries, particularly France and West Germany. Since the EEC countries recognized the Palestinian rights to self-determination, proposing a dialogue between European and Arab countries, Saudi Arabia has considered it necessary to bring Western Europe into the process of cooperation in settling the Middle East issues and in developing its economy and in strengthening its national defense. In this connection, Saudi Crown Prince Fahd said: "As a European country carrying considerable political and economic influence, France will have an important role to play in world affairs. We hope that France will fulfill that role." In March 1980, French President Giscard d'Estaing visited Saudi Arabia. In September, the two countries signed a contract for delivering 14 billion francs worth of French weapons to arm the Saudi navy. In November, they signed a wide-ranging security cooperation agreement. In March 1980, Saudi Arabia provided 6 billion marks in loans to West Germany to cover part of the latter's deficit spending. In June 1980, their military and economic cooperation was further strengthened as a result of Saudi King Khalid's visit to West Germany. In addition to seeking increased external support, Saudi Arabia has concentrated its efforts on strengthening its defense power. During the past 4 years, it has increased its defense spending by fourfold. This year, it took a step forward in

increasing its defense expenditures to U.S. \$12.6 billion so that it can increase its regular armed forces from 60,000 to 100,000 men and equip them with the most modern weapons. To achieve this objective, it has ordered a large amount of military equipment from the Western countries, including 13 missile-firing ships from the United States at a cost of U.S. \$840 million, and 18 landing craft from France. It has also reached an agreement with the United States on the purchase of F-5 and F-15 aircraft and various types of missiles.

Saudi Arabia has become a driving force in persuading other Persian Gulf nations to strengthen their joint defense. In January 1980, it decided to cooperate with other Persian Gulf nations in establishing their first military-industrial center to produce fighter-planes, tanks and armored personnel carriers. It was reported that Saudi Arabia has explored the possibility of establishing a Persian Gulf treaty organization with other nations in that region in order to forge a joint defense system.

Saudi Arabia is a strategically important littoral country of the Persian Gulf, holding a vital position on the international oil supply line. As the world's largest oil exporter, it has been regarded by the West as the main source of energy. For this reason, the active diplomatic and defensive moves made by Saudi Arabia are of significance not only to its own security but also to the peace and stability of the Persian Gulf as a whole.

9574

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. RAND CORPORATION'S ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Nov 80 p 7

[Article by Jintong [6855 6639]: "World Renowned Consulting Organization--The U.S. Rand Corporation"]

[Text] The Rand Corporation produces no material goods nor does it design products, but is an American consulting firm that provides consulting services to the government and to public institutions. It undertakes research on major issues, providing pertinent background analyses and alternatives to policy makers for their consideration. Since many of the results of its studies have been of major influence on United States policy, and because some of its theses have been borne out by events, the Rand Corporation has become famous throughout the world. In 1957, for example, a Rand Corporation study postulated the launching of an artificial satellite by the Soviet Union with a difference of only 2 weeks between the predicted launch date and the actual launch date. The invitation to Allen Whiting and Richard Solomon, who had studied Sino-American relations at the Rand Corporation, to take up positions in the Department of State, played a major role during President Nixon's term of office in the normalization of relations between the United States and China.

"Rand's" Background

Rand is an acronym for research and development in the English language, and it started out as a research and development organization under the United States Air Force. Following World War II, Rand gradually became an independent, non-profit consulting organization. When the corporation was founded in November 1948, it was funded by a combination of money from the Ford Foundation and bank loans. The corporation is run by a trusteeship council composed of noted personages in industry, commerce, academia, and public institutions. Those in charge in the corporation are appointed to their positions by this council, and the overall programs of the corporation are also set by this council.

The function of the Rand Corporation is to accept commissions from government or public institutions, and to carry out research on stipulated topics. Researchers are free to express viewpoints in the course of research, but they assume no responsibility for the consequences of policies.

The range of Rand Corporation research topics is extraordinarily broad. Initially it confined itself to strategic and tactical problems for the air force; subsequently, after accepting commissions from the Defense Department and the Atomic

Energy Commission, it broadened into international relations, and atomic weapons. Later on it accepted other commissions from federal government departments and from New York City to study health, education, communications and transportation, energy, housing and municipal construction problems. Now, it may be said that the Rand Corporation conducts research on virtually any problem relating to major American external or internal policies, and many problems require longterm and ongoing research. As situations develop, new problems appear requiring new research.

During the past 30 years, the Rand Corporation has published several hundred research reports annually. In 1978, the Rand Corporation published 330 special reports, and commercial companies published four new books written by Rand Corporation personnel.

Flexible Organizational Structure

In recent years, the Rand Corporation has announced no figures for the number of its employees. In 1963, on the 15th anniversary of its founding, the corporation announced a figure of 1100 persons of whom one-half were researchers.

The organizational structure of the Rand Corporation is currently as follows: The corporation and its subsidiary, the Rand Institute, is under the leadership of a director appointed by the trusteeship council. In the office of the director is a high level deputy director, an executive assistant manager to assist work, and only two functional departments below, namely an administration and management section, and a financial section. In addition, there is a publications department responsible for publication of research results, and a Washington office.

Under the leadership of the director, the substantive research organization is divided into two categories. One is research offices divided according to subject matter. Currently these include computer services, economics, engineering and applied sciences, information science, management science, and social sciences. The other category consists of research departments divided in terms of tasks. There is a domestic problems research department, a national security problems research department, and an air force planning research department. Within each department are various special units. This category of research departments is the responsibility of the deputy director.

Basically, research tasks are jointly researched by persons in pertinent disciplines from specialized organizations. The personnel in each research office may engage in specialized research according to their individual interests and expertise. In addition, there is a principal scientists department under the leadership of the director and peopled by experts in the natural sciences. They may engage in pertinent specialized research on the basis of requirements for special topics and their own individual interests. There is, additionally, a research support unit. In this way is formed a research network containing experts from many disciplines working together on special topics.

Additionally, the Rand Corporation maintains cooperative relationships with the Stanford Institute in the United States, and the London Strategic Studies Institute in the United Kingdom. It farms out some problems, commissioning research by research units with the expertise.

A Crack Research Corps

Rand bends every effort to use high salaries to attract senior experts to participate in the corporation's research work. Among the present 547 research personnel, 200 have doctors degrees, and 178 have masters degrees. Of those having doctors degrees, 44 are doctors of economics, 47 are doctors of social science, 31 are doctors of engineering, and 30 are doctors of mathematics or statistics. In addition, there are experts in physics, computer sciences, law, education, medicine, political policy analysis, and in literature and the arts.

The corporation requires these researchers to constantly upgrade their professional levels. Each research office requires that its researchers, particularly its senior researchers, devote 20 percent of their time daily to the study of their own specialities so that their specialized knowledge will not be anything less than up to date.

In management, the Rand Corporation has instituted a system of a high degree of division of authority and respect for the individual creativity of researchers. Management serves only to inspire and organize specialized research. Researchers themselves select topics on which they would like to conduct research. Units engaged in basic research emphasize the freedom of individuals to read what they like, to think, and to discuss. When required research on special topics is undertaken, they stress mutual coordination in getting everything in at a certain time and in the rate of progress. Those in charge of management and organization are, for the most part, around 30 years old. They are young people with specialized knowledge who also possess organizational ability. Experts in their 40's and 50's concentrate their energies on the research work.

In addition, in 1970, the Rand Corporation started up the Rand Institute for the training of political analysts for the government and affiliated units. This institute hires people with masters degrees or graduate students with equivalent academic records who possess knowledge of physics, biological sciences, and the social sciences or mathematics. Courses are of three kinds: (1) basic analytical courses, including basic theories, and mastery of the necessary tools and skills for political analysis; (2) holding of seminars on research already completed by the Rand Corporation, with the seminars being led by senior researchers responsible for special projects or those who participated in the research; (3) participation in current research being done by the Rand Corporation to receive on-the-job training, so that students will both grasp fundamental theories and have definite practical experience.

9432

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'BRAIN BANKS' INFLUENCE JAPAN'S POLICY MAKING

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 80 p 7

[Article by Shu Jian [5289 5054]: 'Brain Bank'--The Brain Trust of Japan's Ruling Circle"]

[Text] Japan has a first-rate research and investigation apparatus composed of scholars, experts, and persons versed in economic business enterprises. They constitute a "staff department" for the government and for financial circles. They collect intelligence information, launch comprehensive research, prepare investigation and research reports, and provide them to the nation for reference in making policy. They are also a storehouse of talent in which new prime ministers can spot and select members of his cabinet.

Japan presently has more than 150 high quality investigation and research organizations known as "brain banks." These organizations are composed primarily of noted experts, scholars and persons versed in economic business enterprises. They receive support and financial assistance from the Japanese government and from financial circles, and they undertake political, economic, military, and scientific research work. They provide the results of their research to the government in reports for use as reference by the state in making policy decisions.

Characteristics of the "Brain Bank"

Problems researched by the "brain bank" comprise both short-term research on special topics and long-term strategic prognostications. Each of the "brain banks" has its special field of expertise. Some emphasize research on global strategy; others are partial to the collection of political, economic, military, and scientific intelligence from a particular region; some have a rather pronounced economic coloration; some are research institutes on special topics; and still others are economic research institutes on internal Japan.

Japan's "brain banks" may be divided into three categories:

- (1) Numerous "brain banks" are linked to various departments of the government with whom they have signed contracts and for whom they do policy research;
- (2) Some "brain banks" are "staff departments" for financial circles. Among financial circles, the "four large blocs" and the six large zaibatsu consisting of Mitsubishi, Mitsu, Sumitomo, Fuji, Daiichi, and Sanwa, all have their own "brain banks."

(3) Still other "brain banks" are scholarly groups composed of university professors and PhD's. These are versed in politics, economics, and military theory, and are familiar with the history and topography of other countries, forming a vast corps of social science workers. The government enlists the support of their abundant knowledge and painstakingly logical thinking ability, entrusting them with investigation and research work.

Forms of Activity of the "Brain Banks"

The forms of activity of the "brain banks" are principally of the following kinds:

(1) Broad collection of intelligence information, gathering of principal foreign and domestic periodicals and books, and the reading, comparison, and verification of books and treatises from important personages in government and high ranking leaders in various countries, from columnists, scholars, and the architects of government policies. These data are arranged in categories and filed. The most important data about target countries are fed into computers (data such as land area, population figures, changes in the population composition; coal, petroleum, steel and iron, and grain output; the composition of export and import commodities), which are used to calculate the economic rate of growth of such countries, increases in exports and imports, and international payment capabilities.

(2) Launching of comprehensive research. For example, Japan's largest "brain bank," "Comprehensive Research Development Organization," published a report in 1977 titled, "Comprehensive Strategy For Our Country To Meet the 21st Century" (hereinafter termed, "21st Century.") This research, which began in 1975, took 2.5 years for completion. Its contents are divided into 21 special topics. More than 500 researchers from 15 "brain banks" participated in its preparation, and it may be termed a classic of comprehensive research. Research was conducted in three stages. The first was the preparatory stage during which each "brain bank" concentrated on "the problems Japan would have to solve in order to meet the 21st century," about which each provided its own views, after which a chart was prepared showing the interrelationship of each problem and programming of research on each of them. Second was the stage of intensive research. Special topics were divided up and given to "brain banks" possessing special research expertise in them, with experts and PhD's preparing papers on each special topic. Third was the compilation stage in which materials on each topic were collated and a final text prepared to provide the Japanese government with reliable intelligence on which to base national strategy.

(3) Conduct of overseas investigation. Using their embassies and consulates abroad as bases, the Japanese contact and interview local experts for the rapid and accurate collection of intelligence. They also cooperate with foreign "brain banks" for regular exchanges of intelligence data. A more important technique is to dispatch personnel to make specialized inquiries. After the aforementioned "21st Century" got underway, every Japanese "brain bank" sent out large numbers of researchers to the United States, Western Europe, and the Soviet Union to conduct research, to call on local experts, and to pose to their targets questions about the problems each country faced in approaching the 21st century, asking that at least 10 such problems be listed. After returning to Japan, they used the answers thus collected to write investigative reports on the United States, Europe, and the Soviet Union, providing first hand materials for research work.

(4) The holding of academic discussion meetings is an important link in research work. Within Japan, each year every "brain bank" organizes informal discussions of experts, scholars, personages from financial circles, and government officials. At these discussion meetings, frequently different schools of thought are pitted against each other, each of them expressing their own views and making government policy proposals. In making policy, the government incorporates things of diverse nature without rigidly adhering to what any particular school has advocated.

Additionally, international discussions are organized. For example, as the aforementioned "21st Century" research entered its second stage, the "Comprehensive Research Development Organization" convened an international special topics discussion conference, inviting internationally famous experts on "future problems" to attend. The Japanese "brain banks" got a cross section of expert opinion for their own use.

Characteristics of "Brain Bank" Research Reports

"Brain bank" research reports are highly specialized and contain separately arrived at proposals, but they have the following overall characteristics:

(1) Timeliness. Research results and special reports may be published quite promptly in various periodicals: for example, following completion of research on the "21st Century," more than 10,000 copies of a book titled, "Dictionary. Japan's Problems."

(2) Sensitivity. "Brain banks" are storehouses for talent. Frequently incoming prime ministers look for talent for their cabinets in some of the outstanding "brain banks." For example, once Taihei Masayoshi became prime minister, he immediately appointed the famous economist and head of the "Japan Economic Research Center," Okita Saburo as foreign minister. In addition, numerous high ranking officials in Japan who have stepped down from government positions take positions in "brain banks." The famous braintrusters, Kosaka Masao [0686 0978 2973 3948] and Shinohara Miyohel [4646 0626 0005 0108 1627], had formerly been high government officials. Members of the cabinet also frequently give them advance tips, give them ideas, or reveal the intended direction of government policies; consequently, they are quite adept and sensitive observers of the scene.

(3) Accuracy. Japanese financial circles and the government make balanced comparisons of the various plans, proposals, and suggestions of these new investigation and research organizations after which they select the optimum plan to serve as objective. At the end of the 1970's, the "Comprehensive Research Development Organization," and the "Nomura Comprehensive Research Institute" proposed two carefully considered proposals with Japan's long-term interests in mind. One was a "Pan-Pacific Proposals," i.e. an amalgamation of countries in the Pacific region to build a unified economic organization to develop the economy of the region. Former Prime Minister Taihei Masayoshi organized a special group to conduct research and to actively promote this idea. In mid-January 1980, he traveled to Australia and New Zealand in this connection. Newly elected Prime Minister Suzuki indicated desire to continue Taihei's "legacy," and labored on behalf of this task. Second was the "Comprehensive Security Guarantee Strategy," which was an organic combination of military, economic, education, and cultural matters in overall planning with due consideration to all concerned. This has since been adopted by the Japanese government as its "Security Guarantee Plan" for the 1980's.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

MODERNIZATION OF JAPAN TRACED TO MEIJI RESTORATION PERIOD

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 80 p 5

[Article by Liang Jigui [2733 0679 6311]: "Philosophy During the Meiji Restoration Period and the Modernization of Japan"]

[Text] Japan's gross national product currently averages \$8000 per capita per annum, about the same as the United States. Up until the eve of the Meiji restoration, however, Japan was still a feudal country riven by rival rulers.

In its roughly 100 years of rapid development to become a highly modernized country, Japan went through two dramatic periods of development. These were the beginning of the Meiji restoration in the 1860's and the reforms and reconstruction following World War II. Japan's successful modernization began with the Meiji restoration.

Up until the time of the Meiji restoration, the social character and culture of Japan and China were quite close. Both were founded in feudal societies, and both faced perils to their national existence brought about by the encroachments of western power; unless they divested themselves of their feudal, backward state, they would be unable to continue to exist. However, the Meiji restoration succeeded in Japan, but the reform movement of 1898 failed in China.

Prior to the Meiji restoration in Japan, all national culture was feudal culture. The cannon of the westerners awakened the self-reliance of the Japanese people who thereupon began the Meiji restoration led by officialdom and supported by the masses of the people. The slogans of the times were, "culture and civilization," "prosperity and industry," and "a prosperous nation and a strong military." The movement for "culture and civilization" was a profound anti-feudal ideological and cultural revolution, which strongly opened the road for Japan's modernization.

Philosophical thinking in Japan prior to the Meiji restoration was a religious philosophy dominated by Chinese Confucian teachings, the Buddhism of India, and native Shintoism. This feudal culture was characterized by devotion to personal cultivation of moral character, emphasis on ethics, and discussion of holy writ. Philosophical thinking consisted of a non-rationalist philosophy of abstruse and mysterious concepts such as "right," "life giving principle," "the way," "the dual principals of Yin and Yang," "eternal and unchanging truth," and a "life to come." This feudal culture particularly elevated moral preaching and abstruse

abstract theories, regarding science and technology as the enemy of morality. The Japanese termed this culture "abstruse learning" [kyogaku]. Therefore the thinkers of the period of the Meiji restoration realized that these must first criticize this abstruse learning, and replace it with its antithetical "real learning" [jitsugaku].

The so-called "real learning" meant positive science. The earliest restoration thinker, Teuda Shindo [3160 3944 4176 6670] said, "All learning may be divided into two major categories: high-minded talk of the empty theoretical no-mind [of Buddhist meditation], the metaphysics of primary elements, and innate knowledge and natural ability, which is abstruse learning; or learning based on real phenomena with discussion concentrating on real laws as in modern western astronomy, physics, chemistry, medicine, economics, and philosophy, which is real learning. If these kinds of realistic studies could circulate throughout the country, and all truths be understood, that could be termed true civilization." The Japanese called this revolution in thought, "going from abstruse learning to real learning."

The Meiji restoration may thus be characterized as having been a process of accepting occidental scientific culture. In order to preserve the ruling position that feudal culture had enjoyed, at the very beginning feudal power put forth the slogan of "eastern virtue and western skills" (meaning technology). This was a bird of the same feather as "Chinese traditional learning as the main body and western learning for use" of the period of the Westernization Movement in China. Japan, however, subsequently launched a critique of real learning as compared with abstruse learning. The criticism of "empty eastern theories," and the advocacy of the thinking of "real learning" were the major ideas of enlightened thinkers of the period of the Meiji restoration. The movement for the emancipation of thought during this period in Japan provided great impetus to reform during this new era of the Meiji restoration, and it even wields very great influence right up to the present day.

First of all, the Japanese people established the idea of respect for scientific knowledge, acknowledging that scientific knowledge was the only true learning, and that only scientists and scientific thinkers were truly learned persons. Furthermore, people also realized that not only did production technology require scientific knowledge, but that solution to national political, theoretical, and moral problems also required a foundation in scientific knowledge.

Secondly, with the establishment of ideas about real knowledge, Japan abandoned the narrow rejection of foreign ideas and the policy of closing the land to foreign intercourse that had been part of the feudal mentality of the country for several thousand years in favor of vigorous efforts to introduce science and technology, which opened the way for the development of international trade. History has demonstrated that this change was to have far-reaching historical effects.

Additionally, as a result of the revolution in thinking of the Meiji restoration, for the past 100 years Japan has given intense attention to education, and has honored scientists and technicians. It has both vigorously operated schools and sent students abroad for study. Within only 30 years following the Meiji restoration, the literacy rate of the Japanese people had already reached almost 90 percent. Currently Japan is the most educationally advanced country in the world, and scientists and technicians are universally respected, their positions in society being quite high.

The feudal societies of China and Japan had a fundamental characteristic, namely a system that combined the human and the spiritual with the sovereign being an object

for religious worship as part of the system of government. Neither China nor Japan established a state religion, but what truly served as a state religion was "the bond between prince and minister, father and son, husband and wife," and the precepts of "love, justice, propriety, wisdom, and sincerity." These were laws in a system in which laws and moral precepts were mixed together as one.

Under this system, the ruler could deify himself, placing himself in the supreme position unfettered by any written laws and being able to order people about at will, answerable only to some vague and flexible moral precepts. They were loathe to formulate clearcut laws and use these laws to govern the country. They preferred only to use some amorphous moral principles of "expression of the princely man and repression of mean men," and self-deification with the right to order everyone around.

Therefore, reformist thinkers of the Meiji restoration expounded theoretically on the need for a separation of politics and laws from religion, and the scientific notion of reliance on laws in the governing of the nation. Fukusawa Yukichi [4395 3419 6170 0679] said: "The people should be ruled solely on the basis of principles with the promulgation of laws after which the majesty of politics and law should command compliance." Fukasawa advocated a law based in science rather than in moral principles. He also said, "So-called government is entrusted by the people with acting according to the provisional constitution so that the people of the entire nation, no matter whether nobles or commoners, high or low, can enjoy their rights, and it is necessary to bring into being a legal system that is fair, strict and impartial in rewards and punishments, and unselfish."

Inasmuch as the Meiji restoration in Japan established the idea of rule by law, even though this did not result in the rise of a democratic republican form of government in Japan, nevertheless clearly defined laws and regulations were established for the state apparatus, for partisan political bodies, and for business organizations so that people were released from the fetters of feudal relationships of superior and inferior based in moral principles, thereby freeing them to exercise initiative and a spirit of innovation, which enlivened the entire people, evoked a great deal of human talent from every quarter, developed science and technology, and resulted in the creation of business enterprises.

The "culture and civilization" movement of the period of the Meiji restoration was actually a complete anti-feudal thought revolution. The major efforts of reformist thinkers went into criticizing and exposing the ideology of feudalism. Philosophically this took the form of opposition to "abstruse learning" and advocacy of "real learning." Politically it meant replacement with the rule of law of the stateism of experts in "national learning." Economically, ideas of a commodity economy replaced concepts of a feudal agriculturally rooted economy.

Naturally problems in the relationships between the philosophical revolution of a people and the flourishing and development of that people were very significant problems. But owing to the limitations of space, they can only be cited as being problems. The development of Japan into the advanced industrial country that it is today is inseparable from completion of the revolutionary task of opposition to feudal thinking of the period of the Meiji restoration.

(Excerpted from DONGFANG ZHEXUE YANJIU [ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY RESEARCH], First Quarter, 1980)

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ORIANI FALLACI PRAISED AS SHARP JOURNALIST

Beijing **RENMEN RIBAO** in Chinese 16 Dec 80 p 7

[Article by Gu Jian (7357 0256): "A Portrait of Italian Sharp Journalist Oriana Fallaci"]

[Text] Italian newspaperwoman Oriana Fallaci, who interviewed Comrade Deng Xiaoping recently, is an energetic, silver-tongued, and sharp-minded journalist. Her interviews with the world leaders have been widely read by the people everywhere, along with many of her works, two of which have won prizes for journalism.

Fallaci was born in 1930. Her journalistic career dates back to the days when she had to spend part time covering news stories to earn money to support her education at the age of 16. During the early days of her journalistic career, she was assigned to cover entertainments. After becoming a professional journalist, she was sent by the weekly **EUROPEANS** to Vietnam, India, and Pakistan as a correspondent when the wars there were still raging. While there, she learned to sharpen her skills in inducing the people to answer her questions.

As a newspaperwoman, she has interviewed many internationally known celebrities. She insisted that in addition to objectively reporting events, a journalist must never give up his or her own character and views. She regards journalistic life as "a drama" in which she plays a proud role. When Libya's Qadhafi kept her waiting for almost 2 hours before she could interview him, she avenged this overbearing behavior by pressing for an answer to this question in the presence of his press secretary and bodyguards: "Colonel, if the masses love you as much as you claim they do, why do you need so many secret servicemen to protect you?" When she was required to cover her face with a Muazzin headdress to meet Iran's Khomeini, she took it off immediately after seeing him in a fit of indignation. In an interview with Emperor Haile Selassie, she asked: "Your Majesty, how do you feel when your subjects still suffer from poverty?" Puppet Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu was on the verge of tears and crying during an interview with her. When being interviewed by Fallaci, Henry Kissinger remarked: "Americans love cowboys who ride into towns and villages on horse back alone with nothing but guns in hand. Such amazing romantic characters just fit me well, because the style of the lone ranger speaks of my lifestyle or professional skills." In Kissinger's eyes, the entire American government is only a "convoy" under his protection.

The aforementioned remark by Kissinger reportedly jolted the then White House into a shock, and prompted its high-ranking officials to state that "this is undoubtedly the most arrogant bullshit we have ever heard of." Later, Kissinger regretfully called the conversation with Fallaci "the lousiest chit-chat I have ever had with the press."

Fallaci is a stoic, cunning and silver-tongued journalist. Sometimes she can be candid, humorous and magnanimous in dealing with people. Sometimes, she can also turn very mean, leaving the people the impression that she is indeed a businesslike and straight-forward woman. She also has a warm personality with determination to leave no stone unturned until she is satisfied with the answers to her questions. Fallaci recalled her days as a little girl by saying: "When I was young, the adults taught me to do others justice, resist evil and oppression, and seek things of beauty, and to pursue other noble human activities."

Fallaci still cherishes the memory of her late husband--Alexandros Panagoulis, a hero of the Greek resistance movement and a poet. She interviewed him at Athens before their marriage. After that interview, they found themselves sharing the same ideals and moral beliefs and admiring and loving each other. These factors of mutual interest drove them to live together for 3 unforgettable years. Panagoulis died of a suspicious car accident in 1976 just before trying to make public evidence of corruption in the government. He was arrested in 1968 on the charges of an attempted assassination of Greek military dictator George Papadopoulos, and was later sentenced to 42 months in a 3 by 5 windowless prison cell. He never revealed the names of his companions in that assassination plot under torture which made him pass out several times. He was praised by Fallaci as "a character who never wants to give up his role as an indomitable hero." Her present stoic character and political attitude were reportedly more or less influenced by her husband. Her third novel entitled "A Man" is actually a portrait of Panagoulis. In order to get a feeling of life in a tiny prison cell, she chose to live in the smallest room of her 30-room villa while in Italy's Tuscany city. While in New York, she lived in another small room deliberately partitioned for that purpose in her multi-suite apartment house. "A Man" written in this way has passed the mark of 1 million copies sold and has won Italy's highest prize for literature.

9574

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PRC OFFICIALS FACE QUESTIONING IN PEOPLE'S CONGRESSES

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 16 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Cheng Ku (2052 6253): "On Interpellation"]

[Text] An extremely significant thing has recently occurred in our country's political life: "questioning" by peoples' delegates. During the National People's Congress (NPC) delegates from Beijing and Shanghai questioned the leading members of the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry about the construction of the Baoshan steel mill. Their questions were practical, sharp, pointed and unequivocal; moreover question followed question as if the delegates would not rest until they got to the heart of the matter. After reading such news reports, we are sure that the NPC can now take its place in the democratic process as a real power organ.

The exercise of questioning the deputies to the people's congresses represents a giant step forward in the direction of the democratization of the political life in our country. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, socialist democracy has gained momentum in our country. During this period, the "Democracy Wall" came into being. The party Central Committee dealt with it correctly, but some people have begun to worry that the newly emerging democratic life might be shortlived, and are also concerned about whether there would be a return to the days when "10,000 horses stood mute." The appearance of questioning in the people's congresses has dispelled this concern and has revived the confidence of the people in the future of democracy in our country. The democratic style of questioning that has taken place in the NPC has proven to be more wide-ranging, stronger, and more powerful than the posters on the "Democracy Wall." It can also insure that our socialist democracy continues to advance in a healthy, sound way. Such new democratic styles as "questioning" will certainly develop steadily under the leadership of the party relying on the wisdom of the masses. Everyone can imagine how tough is the going for those ministers who now must undergo this sort of questioning. What is the people's reaction to this new democratic process? They simply say: "It is good. From now on, the going will be tough for bungling officials!" They hit the nail on the head. Originally the people were the masters and cadres were their servants. For a long time, however, because of the system of only one person having a say and the system of long-life tenure, because of the lack of true democracy and the lack of an effective system of rewards, punishments and supervision for cadres, because of the lack of a legal system, it was easy to be an official. Not only was it easy, they

also enjoyed certain prerogatives. This led to the appearance of bad phenomena: some comrades, when they became officials, were interested only in "wielding power" and thought little of their "responsibility." This was caused by shortcomings in our cadre system. Surely, every official will have power to wield (but not the prerogatives beyond his position). But this power is delegated by the people; therefore it carries a specific responsibility; a specific position is always accompanied by a specific responsibility. There is a direct proportional relationship between the two: the higher the position or the greater the power, the heavier the responsibility. Once this proportional relationship is lost, it will be easy for cadres to become overlords of the people instead of their servants. In the end, they will become officials who mess everything up. Now things are better; questioning has appeared and has been made public by the newspapers. In the future, anyone found guilty of dereliction of duty will be dealt with according to the law. In this way, the imbalance between power cadres wield and responsibility they assume can be gradually rectified and certain comrades will realize that it is not so easy to be an official. This is undoubtedly a very good thing for the country and people.

It was reported that the people in Shanghai have complained about the shortages of vegetables. Each day, nearly 4.6 million tons of polluted water is discharged into the Huangpu River, seriously threatening the health of the 10 million residents of Shanghai. Delegates to the people's congresses must "raise questions" about such problems and suggest solutions. Furthermore, the people in Shanghai are proud of the newly-built high-rise 10,000-unit building, a landmark that is often shown in the films. But in building such a towering building, they actually forgot to install a septic tank. As a result, wastes could only be discharged directly from the sewer, flow into the "water source" and then "return" to the stomachs of the residents. People naturally hope that this is only a joke. Was it that easy for those responsible people who put their names on the designs and plans to sign their names? Is it that easy to be an official? I feel that they should be thoroughly questioned and should be urged to conscientiously sum up their experiences and lessons and to earnestly do well those things that must be done well.

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PARTY AND STATE

MARX' CRITICISM OF FEUDAL BUREAUCRACY REVIEWED

Beijing REDMIN RIBAO in Chinese 28 Oct 80 p 5

[Article by Chen Rongfu [7115 2837 1381]: "Criticism of Feudal Bureaucracy by Marx in His Early Years"]

[Text] Germany entered its era of feudalism comparatively late; its system of feudal stratification assumed its final shape only as late as in the 12th Century. In the 15th Century when the decline of feudal production relations had already set in in the various countries of Western Europe, feudal rule in Germany reached its peak. In the 17th and 18th Century the bourgeois revolution won its victories in England and France, while Germany still remained under the autocratic rule of feudalism. In Germany the feudal autocracy was rotten to the core; industrial and agricultural production languished and trade was extremely depressed. The people's livelihood had become one of unbearable hardship, "all was rotten, shaky and about to collapse." (Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol 2, p 634) But the German bourgeoisie showed itself extremely weak, and whatever criticism of the feudal autocracy the bourgeois thinkers engaged in was merely soft mumblings and grumblings.

Shortly after graduating from university in 1841, Marx became chief editor of the RHEINBOTE. Taking his stand on the side of revolutionary democracy, this 23-year old youth launched a merciless criticism of the Prussian "extremely detestable system of autocracy."

Bureaucratic government is the unavoidable product of the autocratic rule of feudalism. It is just in a bureaucratic structure that rises up in layers like a pagoda, that feudal autocracy achieves its domination over the people. In his "Criticism of Hegel's Philosophy of Law" and other writings, Marx exposes and castigates such corrupt bureaucratic government.

A characteristic feature of bureaucratic government is that all officials, large and small, enjoy high positions and live in comfort, acting overbearingly, without the slightest administrative efficiency. Since the feudal nobility and their sons could rely on social status and the illustrious history of their ancestry to get into high positions with handsome emoluments, they had not the slightest enterprising spirit and dedication to their work. All they knew was to greedily grab material wealth. "The individual bureaucrat turned the state's objectives into his own private objectives, into a means to win promotions and get rich and

speed up his advance in his career." To the end of their years, they never had to worry about filling their bellies, and all they knew was to conduct routine business as a formality, "the tasks of the state became formalities of routine business, or the formalities of routine business became the tasks of the state." A bureaucrat's "existence consisted in his presence at a desk." (Ibid., Vol 1, p 302) They turned a blind eye to the hardships of the people which left them completely indifferent. Marx pointed out: "Regular conditions of poverty in a certain district of the state reveal to us a contradiction between reality and the principles of administration." (Ibid., p 229) That means, the regular conditions of poverty are created by the administrative principles of bureaucratic government, but the bureaucrats did not allow "any distrust to be shown in the perfect state of their administrative rules and principles, which had been set up one-sidedly by the bureaucrats themselves, and on the other hand would also not give up even one paragraph of these principles and rules." They always blamed poverty on "the individuals as if those who suffered poverty had brought about their own suffering," (Ibid., p 225) and never would bureaucrats assume responsibility for such a state of things.

Feudal government is a combination of ignorance and superstitions. Under the autocratic rule of feudalism, many bureaucrats are ignorant and incompetent, those in the superstructure remain separated from reality and in complete ignorance. Marx pointed out that the bureaucratic superstructure "had to rely on the lower echelon for knowledge on every little question, and the lower echelon relied on the superstructure for an understanding of the universe around them, with the result that they were leading each other astray." (Ibid., p 302) The bureaucrats "worship authority" and their bounden duty is "absolute obedience." With an extreme ignorance in the superstructure and a lower echelon that blindly worships the superstructure, the state will only "exist as a compound of bureaucratic factions composed of various strata of subordinations and blind obedience." (Ibid., pp 302-303) In the feudal autocracy everything is therefore shrouded in utmost stupidity.

The bureaucrats themselves are completely ignorant and are also against the very existence of any knowledge. "The Jesuit spirit" of the bureaucrats "is opposed to knowledge;" "to the bureaucrat, true science has no content." (Ibid., p 303) They therefore crudely interfere with science, suppress, stifle and smother real talents. Marx was of the opinion that the borderlines of scientific research must be set by scientific research itself. Wilful interference in science can only lead to the strangulation of science. Bureaucrats do not understand science and do not study science, but they are in important positions and always consider themselves the overlords of all there is. Their maxim is, "My will is command." (Ibid., p 52) They think their will replaces all argument and they therefore commit many stupidities which run counter to objective laws and bring about disastrous effects for state and people. That is why Marx called "ignorance and incompetence" the "evil star of impending tragedy," and also called it "a general demonic force which keeps us worrying whether it may even cause further and graver tragedies." (Ibid., p 129)

Marx pointed out that the bureaucrats form "a closed, exclusive clique." (Ibid., p 301) Bureaucratic government is bitterly opposed to change and cannot of its own cure the ills of feudal autocracy. Only by eradicating the system of private property and then also eradicating class differences and attaining communism, can bureaucracy be finally abolished.

PARTY AND STATE

DISTRICT ELECTION EXCITES BEIJING UNIVERSITY

Paris LE MONDE in French 6 Dec 80 p 5

[Article by Alain Jacob: "Surprising Electoral Campaign at Beijing University"]

[Text] Democratic elections are a novelty in China. Direct voting is only done on the district or precinct level and the procedure generally arouses little enthusiasm. Also, the party most often retains the upper hand in the organization of the voting and the results rarely provide major surprises.

Matters are different when the electoral district includes the campus of a large university such as Beida, where the 8,000 students are scheduled to elect 2 representatives to the People's Assembly of the district of Haidian on 12 December.

There are at present 18 candidates for these two seats, and a veritable electoral campaign is in progress with support committees, progress meetings, wall newspapers carrying the photographs of candidates, surveys, etc. The factions represented are very diverse. Along with a "moderate" faction rather close to the official line of the regime and a "democratic" faction more or less openly affiliated with the movement which enthused the youth of Beijing in the winter of 1978, there are several candidates who do not fit these major categories, being more definitely to the right or the left, or a bit anarchistic as the case may be. There is even a girl who is almost apolitical but who is campaigning on the resolutely feminist platform of "Asiatic beauty" (somewhat in the spirit in which the slogan "black is beautiful" was launched at one time by American blacks).

Popularity of Zhou Enlai

A survey asking each of the candidates to answer a 25-item questionnaire (the results of which were posted) casts revealing light on the ideas currently popular with Chinese youth.

To the question "Who in your opinion is the leading modern political personality?" the overwhelming majority of the candidates answered "Zhou Enlai." One, but only one of them, however, wrote: "It is still Mao Zedong." We should specify however that Mao clearly leads among the "great Marxist-Leninist authors." Stalin, on the other hand, is out of the running.

"What do you think of the cultural revolution?" The majority termed it a "defeat," a "failure," a "frustrated revolution." But it is also termed a "reactionary" and even "fascist" movement.

"What is the most serious problem for Chinese youth currently?" The leading answer was the "crisis of confidence" followed by "unemployment" and "lack of future prospects."

"Is China a socialist country?" No one said no, but the answers differed in emphasis. "Yes, but in construction," or "not yet ripe." One candidate said that the country "has moved away from what Marxism foresaw."

"What about the USSR?" "Like China," a good many of the candidates answered, although those who followed the official line, using the term "social-imperialist country," were more numerous. Some specified "socialist internally, hegemonistic abroad."

Everyone wants reforms but still without specifying their nature, except for denouncing "bureaucracy" as the phenomenon most seriously hindering the development and modernization of the country. No one rejects the principle according to which "the Communist Party should play a leading role," with just one response demanding however a definition of what "leading" means.

One question, finally, was asked about Wei Jingsheng, the young rebel arrested at the time of the "wall of democracy" and sentenced to 15 years in prison in 1979. No one expressed approval of this sentence. A majority of the candidates termed it "too harsh." Two demanded that the trial documents and debates be published in full. Only one demanded a new trial.

The trial of the "gang of four" and the former associates of Lin Biao was not mentioned either in the questions or in the candidates' answers.

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PARTY AND STATE

PROPAGANDA WORK IS TO SERVE ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 80 pp 1,4

[Article: "Adapt to the Change in the Focal Point of Party Work; Strengthen Ideological and Political Work in Economic Construction"]

[Text] Recently an All-Province Propaganda Work Conference was convened by the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee. The conferees felt that in order to adapt to the change in the focal point of party work and to promote the construction of the four modernizations, the emphasis of future propaganda work in our province must shift to economic propaganda, so as to succeed in the ideological and political work of economic construction.

The All-Province Propaganda Conference was held from 14 to 22 August in Guangzhou. Attending the conference were the comrades responsible for propaganda work in local party committees of the Hainan Administrative District, Hainan Li, and Miao Autonomous Zhou, all municipalities and some counties in the province, chiefs of the propaganda departments, provincial party commissioners, party commissioners of agencies under the direct jurisdiction of the provincial people's government, and representatives from various units of the provincial propaganda front. At the meeting, in accordance with the spirit of propaganda work promulgated by the party Central Committee, they earnestly summarized the propaganda work that has been accomplished in our province since the third plenum, and they studied the problem of how to promote propaganda work under the new circumstances.

Xi Zhongxun [5045 0112 8133], first secretary of the CCP Guangdong Provincial Party Committee, and Wu Lengxi [0702 0397 6006], provincial party secretary, delivered speeches at the conference; while Chen Yueping [7115 6390 1627], a member of the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee and chief of the propaganda department, concluded the conference.

At the conference it was considered that since the third plenum, under the guidance of the party Central Committee and the provincial party committee, and through the common exertions of broad cadres of the propaganda front, much has been accomplished in perpetuating the party line, direction and policies, as well as in promoting the change in the focal point of party work to construction of the four modernizations. Propaganda work, especially by encouraging the discussion of the standard of truth, has spread the education of dialectic

materialism to the broad cadres and masses, and this has made possible the liberation of thought. On the basis of liberation of thought, education that insists on the four basic principles was promoted, erroneous concepts of "left" and right were criticized, and the ideology of the broad cadres and masses was again united, in the spirit of the third plenum. As a result of the policies toward cadres and intellectuals, injustices, wrong and false cases have been redressed and the positive nature of the broad cadres and intellectuals in the propaganda line has been mobilized. The style of propaganda work has also made visible improvement emphasizing reality, conscientious performance, and valuing facts, reasons, and results. Thus the work is improving year after year, and our province's bright prospects can be developed. A great deal of change has taken place in the spirit and appearance of the broad cadres and masses of the province. Thus the peaceful and unified political situation can be further consolidated and developed. Industrial and agricultural production will attain greater development. There is improvement in every walk of life.

While confirming the achievement of propaganda work, the conference also seriously reviewed defects and inadequacies in the work. It was agreed that the first stage of propaganda work should emphasize the change in the focal point of propaganda work to economic construction. Thinking is still not sufficiently liberated, determination not strong, action not swift and effects not obvious; the broad propaganda and theoretical workers lag behind in penetrating the true situation, studying the new situation and responding to new problems. Therefore, the focus of propaganda work is not sharp or lively enough. One-sidedness still exists in the propaganda of some issues. The construction of propaganda teams and enterprises is not effectively controlled; literary creation still awaits improvement.

The conference opined that the emphasis of future propaganda work of our province should shift to economic propaganda centering on the construction of the four modernizations in order to accomplish political and ideological work and to promote the development of economic construction. This is the central task of propaganda work which must not change or waiver. Comrades present at the conference analyzed the ideological situation of the cadres and masses and they unanimously felt that a serious task confronting our provincial economic propaganda is reform of the economic system to carry out the political and ideological work regarding the party's economic policy, to conquer doubts and resistance, and to unite people's thinking regarding the line, the direction and the policy of the party.

For this purpose, it is necessary to educate the broad cadres and masses in dialectic materialism. They should be encouraged to insist on the four basic principles and that practice is the standard for testing truth. As their thinking continues to be liberated, they will fully develop the superior potentials of our province. Making bold experiments and innovations in economic building, they will explore the most suitable economic form and correct path for their own unit and for local economic development. In rural economic propaganda, it is necessary to expel the thinking of "fearing wealth" and "having a mental block toward wealth." Instead, one should capitalize on strengths while avoiding

shortcomings in order to make villages attain wealth quickly, to make great development of agriculture possible, and to build wealthy socialist villages. This is the crux of rural propaganda and rural ideological and political work, and it can energize the entire rural economy.

It was considered at the conference that, in order to insure the smooth progress of the construction of the four modernizations in our province, it is necessary to engage in struggle against the corrosion of bourgeois ideology, to strengthen ideological education among young people, to eliminate the causes of instability, and to strengthen and develop the peaceful and unified political situation in our province. Comrades attending the conference pointed out that our province, which borders Hong Kong and Macao, is more affected by the invasion of bourgeois ideology and lifestyle. Therefore, we must sharpen our awareness and carry out a determined and lasting struggle against these evils. For this purpose, it is necessary to engage in patriotic education, education of ideal prospects, education of moral qualities, democratic legalism, and hard struggles among cadres, masses and, above all, young people. We must deal a severe blow to smuggling, speculating and profiteering activities, so as to maintain peace and order in society. We must organize all kinds of propaganda forces, utilize all kinds of propaganda tools, and stand firm on the ideological and cultural battleground in villages and cities. While waging a war against the corrosion of bourgeois ideology, we must pay attention to purging the remaining evil of feudal ideology. We must also guard against the ideology of bourgeois liberalism and anarchism. In particular, we must succeed in educating party members. In sum, any thoughts and actions that pose an obstacle to the construction of the four modernizations and any thoughts and actions that harm the people's interests should be opposed, exposed, and criticized so as to improve party discipline and social customs, thereby building a "great wall" against such corrosion.

It was also considered during the conference that in order to succeed in the propaganda work of the new era, it is necessary to strengthen the construction of propaganda teams, to raise the consciousness of propaganda cadres in the importance of successful propaganda work in the new era, to cultivate a strong sense of enterprise and a sense of responsibility, and to conquer restive thoughts and fears of difficulty. Propaganda cadres must study harder and improve their style of propaganda work so as to fulfill the three basic requirements--i.e., emphasizing the facts, telling the truth, and having due regard for reason, thereby cleansing the remaining evil of "falsehood, pomposity, and pretension" trumpeted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We must encourage the habit of reading, thinking, investigating and studying, the habit of conducting discussions with people as equals, learning from the masses, and learning from reality. Simplification must be avoided in doing ideological and political work among cadres and masses. "Cut the Gordian knot"; solve the problems which need to be solved. Do not rashly raise slogans which are against the trend. Pay attention to the distinction of the two inherently different contradictions. Do not refrain from setting upper limits. Do not beat about the bush. Toward internal contradictions of the people, it is necessary to bring out facts, to talk about reason, to give positive guidance, and to educate them with patience.

Propaganda workers must be ready to discuss new situations and to answer new questions. On the propaganda of certain important questions, it is necessary to observe the discipline governing party propaganda work.

In his speech, Comrade Xi Zongxun emphasized the guidance of party commissioners at every level in strengthening leadership of propaganda work. Party commissioners at every level must discuss propaganda work at regular intervals; supply party committees at every level with propaganda cadres; be concerned with the work, study, and life of the propaganda cadres; and ultimately score success in the recruiting and training of propaganda cadres. Propaganda cadres must be used correctly so that they can render better service to the central party committees. The difficulty of inadequate funds for propaganda work has to be solved, so as to insure success in the construction of propaganda work and to place propaganda work at the service of promoting the modernization of our province.

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CSO: 4003

PARTY AND STATE

DOWNFALL OF LIN-JIANG CLIQUES DESCRIBED

Hong Kong ZHENG MING in Chinese No 37, 1 Nov 80 pp 42-47

[Article by Li Yanwu (2621 4282 0710): "The Downfall of the Lin-Jiang Cliques-- Rise and Fall of the 10 Culprits of the 'Cultural Revolution,'" Part I]

[Text] Editor's Note: This article describes in detail the history of the rise and fall of the 10 major culprits of the Lin-Jiang cliques. The raw materials used in the article are mostly first-hand data. For example, movements in the various Military Regions during the two coups, the relationship between Mao Zedong and the 10 major culprits, the inside stories of several major incidents during the Cultural Revolution...all these materials are extremely rare or never heard of overseas. The whole article consists altogether of some 30,000 characters; because of limited space, only Part I is published in our present number; the other parts are to follow in subsequent numbers.

Mao Zedong Signs Power-Conferring "Posthumous Edict" Prior to His Death

In early September 1976, Mao Zedong's illness reached the danger point. Zhang Chunqiao sent an urgent telegram to Jiang Qing to ask her to return to Beijing from Shaanxi immediately.

As soon as she arrived in Beijing, Jiang Qing immediately went to see Mao Zedong. This was not because she was concerned with Mao Zedong's health but because a most important matter was still not worked out.

What matter was this?

It turned out that, before Mao Zedong's illness reached the dangerous point, a document entrusting Wang Hongwen and Jiang Qing with the handling of the Party Central Committee's daily affairs with full authority had already been drafted, but Mao Zedong had still not fixed his signature on that document. Because, due to Mao Zedong's character, he was not going to sign a document to yield his power unless and until his illness really became critical. Hence, this matter was dragged on and not worked out until a few days before Mao Zedong's death.

During the year prior to Mao Zedong's death, struggles in the upper strata of the Chinese Communist Party had become white hot. The clique headed by Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao expanded rapidly during the high tide of the "counter-attack against the Rightist attempt to reverse the verdict." Persons like Wang Dongxing, Ji Dengkui, Chen Xilian and Wu De (Chen and Wu joined the clique only later) were highly trusted by Mao Zedong, so that their forces were also developing steadily. Although the forces of people like Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping were subject to attack repeatedly, they still occupied certain important posts on the State Council. These were the three principal factions of forces on China's political stage at the time. Among these, Jiang Qing's faction and Wang Dongxing's faction were both "palace factions" engaged in activities right around Mao personally.

On 8 January 1976, Zhou Enlai passed away. In whose hands was the post of the "Premier" going to fall? The factions thus started a life-and-death struggle amongst themselves. Jiang Qing and others took advantage of public opinion instruments in their hands to launch an overall offensive, with its spearhead pointed directly at Deng Xiaoping and others. But on 5 April there exploded the mass riot in the Tian An Men Square in opposition to Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan, which enabled those in power to see that mass anger was not easy to counter and popular sentiments were not to be trifled with. Thus Mao Zedong was forced to adopt a balancing, roundabout tactic by nominating Hua Guofeng as premier. Hua Guofeng's selection was really a result of the situation of stalemate that had come to obtain between the Leftist and the Rightist factions. Former secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Wang Xiuzhen [3769 4423 3791] publicly said at a meeting of the standing committee of the Municipal Party Committee: "The fact that Hua Guofeng is allowed this time to serve as premier is, very obviously, because the Leftist and the Rightist factions of the Party Central Committee could not reach a balance."

Wang Dongxing Bends His Dignity To Beg Under Wang Hongwen

On 9 September 1976, Mao Zedong bade this world goodbye forever.

With the final "posthumous edict" signed by Mao Zedong in her hand, Jiang Qing's long cherished ambition was satisfied, and she felt thus naturally exceedingly cocky. Her partners and cronies also became all elated and rampageous.

Wang Hongwen immediately recommended his diehard follower, responsible person of the Central Organization Department Jin Zumin [6855 4371 2404], as the principal responsible person for arranging Mao Zedong's funeral and burial affairs, so that Wang Dongxing could only serve as an assistant. The Party Central Committee then made a decision that during the period when the casket was placed in a temporary shelter, no outsider was allowed to view the body. Once such power was placed in his hands, Jin Zumin also became supercilious and made no personal allowances or exceptions whatsoever. According to a report later by former Vice Minister of the Public Security Ministry Zhu Jiayao [4376 1367 5069], when he was helping out with security work at the casket hall he personally saw Wang Dongxing twice asking for Jin's instruction as to whether some exception might be made, since all working personnel from General Ye's office and cadres of the Headquarters of the General Staff were lined up outside and requesting to view Mao Zedong's body; Jin replied coldly that he had already repeated several times that everything was to

be handled according to the decision made by the Party Central Committee. As a result, all those who made the request were stopped outside of the door. Zhu Jiayao also said that at that time Jin exuded a haughty air and showed no respect for a leading cadre of the Party Central Committee itself (meaning Wang Dongxing). Although this was but a trivial matter, it showed how cocky and supercilious the Jiang Qing clique had become around the time of Mao Zedong's death.

Hua Guofeng Wants To Exile Mao Yuanxin

At the same time, on the remnant prestige of the "posthumous edict" that the Jiang Qing clique was basing itself, it also forced Hua Guofeng and others to indicate their attitude in hope that they would support her clique to climb onto the throne and claim their establishment and also issue pertinent documents to tell the people at home and abroad accordingly. Hua Guofeng, however, was himself not someone who could be trifled with; how could he turn his spearhead around and give a pretext to others? At first, he merely pretended to be dealing with her in a necessarily perfunctory manner, but in secret, he was making various contacts and arrangements in figuring out a countering strategy. Hua Guofeng succeeded in allying himself with other old cadres (their alliance was actually also forcibly brought into existence by the situation under which Jiang Qing and others sought to upstage others and seize power), and his force became gradually strong and expanded. By and by, the opportunity became ripe, and in his words and attitude Hua Guofeng also stopped to placate her. When Jiang Qing later pressed him, Hua Guofeng simply directly said: "The chairman is chairman of the whole party and not chairman of one family or one name; even if the chairman had made a decision, it should still be discussed by a plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee." He also said: "The Political Bureau's opinion is that Comrade Mao Yuanxin should return to Liaoning Province as early as possible." Mao Yuanxin was the person who had the most frequent contacts with Mao Zedong during the last stage of his life; he was informed of a large number of core secrets. Since Hua Guofeng wanted thus to exile him, it showed that by then the struggles between the factions had already reached a point when solution had become impossible unless the ultimate means were employed.

Analysis of Forces of the Two Sides in the Public Security System

In terms of the substantial strength of the two sides, it may be said to be equal and comparable between their forces. The Jiang Qing clique enjoyed the advantage of the orthodox line within the party; it controlled most organs of the Party Central Committee, and the power to influence public opinion was also in their hands. But in the organs of the State Council and Government departments, their force was not yet strong enough, while the force of Hua Guofeng and others was entrenched in a dominant position. As for the Central Public Security system, which made people pale when speaking of it, the influence of the Jiang Qing clique therein was not too feeble either. At that time, the daily affairs of the Public Security Ministry were handled by members of the ministry's party core group Shi Yizhi [2457 5030 0037], Zhu Jiayao, Zhang Qirui [1728 0366 3843] and others, and these were all core members of the Jiang Qing clique. Over the security work of the Beijing Municipality, Chi Qun [6688 5028] and Liu Chuanxin [0491 0278 2450] also each controlled a part of power and exerted due influence. These above-mentioned persons followed the orders of the Jiang Qing clique obediently and served as its hardhearted and cruel hatchetmen. It may be said that Hua Guofeng, as public security minister, was actually left high and dry to a certain extent.

Even in troop unit No 8341, the situation was far from the one rumored outside that Wang Dongxing enjoyed uncontested power. In reality, Wang Dongxing, Yang Dezhong [2799 1795 0022] and Chi Chun were all core personages of the unit. Around the time of Zhou Enlai's illness and death, Jiang Qing and Wang Dongxing did their best to tell slanderous stories before Mao Zedong and thus worked together to squeeze the unit's deputy political commissar Yang Dezhong out; after criticism, the latter was demoted in order to transfer to the Xianyang Military Subdistrict in Shaanxi, where he also served as a deputy political commissar. Mao Zedong also appointed Mao Yuanxin to look after the unit's work concurrently. Therefore, till the time when Mao Zedong's illness became critical, the Jiang Qing clique still enjoyed great influence in the unit.

Chen Xilian Occupies Position of Balancer

The follow-up problem was the power of control over the Chinese Communist troops between the two factions. In this regard, because the Jiang Qing clique had always harbored a certain ambition and had hence consistently and deliberately sought to have its forces penetrate the troops, plus the fact that, after the Lin Biao incident, it also extensively recruited those who surrendered or bolted, and hence those proud commanders and turncoat generals who veritably befriended Lin Biao now competed to gather under the expansive umbrella of protection of the Jiang Qing clique, the latter's forces thus far exceeded those of Hua Guofeng and others. But Jiang Qing and her gang had aroused the ire of many and therefore made numerous enemies; by the time Hua Guofeng, Ye Jianying, and Li Xiannian became close allies and garnered the help of the military and governmental bureaucratic factions, the ratio of strength between the forces of the two factions became immediately reversed.

Mao Zedong Shouts "Long Live the 38th Army"

At that time the political situation was as tense as a sky full of dark clouds without yet any rain; the Jiang Qing clique was also intensifying its activities. Mao Yuanxin dropped hints for his cronies in the Shenyang Military Region Sun Yuguo [1327 3768 0948] (deputy commander), Li Boqiu [2621 0130 4428] (deputy political commissar), and Yin Canzhen [1438 3605 6297] to transfer the troops under his direct command into China Proper; but this move was passively resisted by Li Desheng [2621 1795 3932] and Zeng Shaoshan [2582 4801 1472], who invoked the pretext that their rear service work was not yet done and hence were rather slow in despatching the troops. That which really responded to the order of transfer and thereby mobilized the troops northward to march to the palace gate was the 38th Army stationed in Baoding. The predecessor of the 38th Army was the First Contingent of the Northeast Field Army long known to be capable and experienced fighters. When the Chinese Communists began to proceed with the modernization work on their troops upon the founding of their state, the 38th Army and the 54th Army were the two principal forces of the whole Army which realized their transportation by motor vehicles the earliest. In 1969, the Central Military Commission decided to improve the communications equipment of the troops by substituting electron tubes with transistors in general and thereby realizing the maturation of the communications equipment; when 6 principal armies were first equipped, the 38th Army turned out glaringly to be the No 1 among them. The 38th Army had sharp equipment and its full quota of personnel; its strength was far greater than that

of 3 divisions, and its fighting power was known to be most rugged. The 38th Army was also known by the designation of "Longlife Army" because, during the Korean War, American troops succeeded in surrounding, and thus cutting off, a large contingent of the Chinese People's Volunteers; the several vanguard armies of the Volunteers happened to have charged forward too fiercely so that they became severed in their liaison with the follow-up troops and hence fell into the encirclement of the American troops. At that time Chinese Communist dignitaries were all very worried about this situation and could hardly sleep or eat. By the time the several armies, including the 2nd Army, were exterminated, the 38th Army, on the other hand, fought a persistent, bloody war and eventually blazed a bloody path and broke through the encirclement. When this news reached Beijing, Mao Zedong was overjoyed and spontaneously shouted: "Long Live the 38th Army!" Thus the habit of calling the 38th Army the "Longlife Army" was carried up to the very present. How did such a select army fall under the control of the Jiang Qing clique?

How Did Jiang Qing Achieve Control Over the 38th Army?

The 38th Army was originally Lin Biao's basic unit. On the eve of the Eighth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, Mao and Lin, for the sake of retaining thorough control over the capital area, proceeded through the military transfer group headed by Ye Jianying to transfer the Army from the Shenyang Military Region to Beijing. At that time the commanding general of the Army was Mou Lishan [3664 4539 0810], who, with his star shining brightly above, thus became concurrently director of the Public Security military district of Beijing Municipality (Liu Chuanxin was deputy director). In 1967, the Army was again transferred to the Baoding district outside the Southern Gate of Beijing; because of the support-the-Left question, the relationship between his troops and troops of the North China system under Yang Chengwu [2799 2052 2976] and Zheng Weisan [6774 4850 0005] became very tense. When Lin Biao secretly plotted the coup, the Army and the 20th Army were both scheduled as forces to be borrowed. Because Zhou Enlai did some work, the Army changed its attitude; its political commissar Wang Meng [3769 3718] was later promoted to the post of director of the State Physical Education Commission. At this time, the Jiang Qing clique intervened to change the leading group of the Army, drawing over its commanding general Liu Haiqing [0491 3189 7230], and promoting its original deputy director of the Political Department Xu Yifu [1776 0110 1133] to the post of its deputy political commissar. When Jiang Qing went southward on her inspection tours, she regularly did so by way of Baoding and thereby wine and dined with the Army's responsible persons; she also especially brought internal movies there to enjoy together with them. Then, there would be shoulder patting and expression of wishes for the conferring of higher offices and there would be the giving of personal photographs as souvenir. In this way, she skillfully buttered up these military fellows so that the Army ultimately became exceedingly docile toward Jiang Qing.

Jiang Qing Sends Confidential Letter To Transfer the 38th Army Northward

The Jiang Qing clique originally planned to transfer troops from the Shenyang Military Region and also the 38th Army, so that they would proceed forward to the capital in two contingents to form a military posture of pincer pressure against Beijing and thereby force Hua Guofeng and others to conform. Little did they expect that troops from the northeast failed to show any movement for quite a while,

while the situation of confrontation in Beijing became exceedingly tense; the Jiang Qing clique became extremely worried. Zhang Chunqiao thus volunteered the plan to have Jiang Qing personally write a confidential letter, with the order of transfer attached, and have his younger brother Xiang Qiuqiao [1728 4428 2890] (deputy chief of the Propaganda Department, Headquarters of the Political Department) rush to Baoding and hand it to the responsible person of the 38th Army, advising him to lead his troops northward to enter the capital immediately. This was then already 2 October. Xu Yifu and others hesitated for a long while but, in order to return the grace of being taken into confidence, they had to risk their lives in keeping their benefactor company, so they ultimately ordered the whole Army to take orderly departure in its march northward. By the early morning of the 4th, its two vanguard divisions had already passed Gaobeidian, spearheading straight toward Beijing.

Hua and Wang Execute Commando Raid and Seize Leaders of the 38th Army

But precisely at this point, the vanguard units received an order from the Army Headquarters to halt and wait for further instruction on the spot. It turned out that when the vanguard units of the Army departed, the Army Commanding Headquarters remained in Baoding. When Hua and Wang received the intelligence report about the Army's departure in ready gears, they decided that since a rupture was imminent no delay should be countenanced; thus they agreed to let Wang Dongxing despatch personnel of the Military Commission defense bureau to rush to Baoding on the double in order to carry out relevant decisive measures. When the defense bureau personnel hurried to Baoding and started to help relevant local personnel to carry out the planned measures, they discovered that while the Army Command Headquarters was humming with activity, with personnel frequently coming in and going out, they somehow lacked any special vigilant preparations; hence they quite smoothly arrested Zhang Qiuqiao and others at the Army Command Headquarters.

Why did the situation turn out this way? Because the Jiang Qing clique figured that if the whole of the 38th Army were told the true story, the Army would realize that their march northward this time was to participate in a coup. Jiang Qing was deeply afraid that at the final moment the Army might waver with hesitation and hence decided to wait and see how things would develop; once such an opportunity was missed, the great cause would be lost. In her confidential letter, therefore, she merely said that the situation of political struggle in Beijing was very complicated; she therefore asked the Army to march northward immediately in order to protect the tranquility of the capital district, and refrained from touching upon such matters as to whom their spearhead would be directed after their entry into the capital and how, when extraordinary incidents were encountered, they should be handled, etc. Jiang Qing's self-placating calculation was that, once the Army reached the capital, they would then be told the background story; then there would be no need to fear that by that time they could still put up any resistance against orders to be given them. When Zhang Qiuqiao rushed to Baoding at first, he too merely urged the Army to follow the order and take their departure, while refraining from telling all the internal story. Even though during the previous period Zhang often led people to the 38th Army to take movies, to write articles, in order to exalt the Army's advanced experiences and hence had struck up a familiar liaison with the Army's responsible persons, at such a crucial moment, however, he still wavered in his words and did not tell the whole story. This was

precisely what turned the matter sour. When the defense bureau personnel arrived to make the arrests, people at the Army Command Headquarters were neither fully prepared nor determined to cope with them by force, so that they were all netted at once.

False Intelligence Report Is Despatched To Anesthetize Jiang Qing

The defense bureau personnel immediately compelled the Army Headquarters to give a strict order for the vanguard units already reaching Gaobeidian to halt and wait for further instruction on the spot, and, in order to continue to anesthetize the Jiang Qing clique, they also ordered the Army's responsible persons and Zhang Qiuqiao to send telegrams at fixed intervals to the Jiang Qing clique to report the Army's up-to-the-minute direction of movement. In this way, up to the very last moment, the Jiang Qing clique was still kept in the dark and from the transformation the Army already underwent.

Then, Hua and Wang also took action in Beijing. Ordinarily, troop unit No 8341 was responsible for the guard duties at Zhongnanhai and other important spots in Beijing (guard duties at the airports and important meeting auditoriums in major cities across the country were also under the unit's responsibility); but such guard duties were again divided into internal guard and external guard sections. Duties of the external guard section were under the overall handling of Wang Dongxing, but internal guard personnel for Jiang Qing and others were selected by Jiang Qing, etc., personally and also subject to free dismissal or promotion by them. In addition, guard duties at Diaoyutai were under the concurrent care of Zhang Chunqiao's confidant Xu Haitao [1776 3189 3447] (who served as division political commissar of the Shanghai garrison before the Cultural Revolution, but later promoted by Zhang to the post of deputy chief of the defense department of the General Political Department in the capital). Xu was a very sharp and able person and full of plots, a character very hard to cope with. Because of the above-stated reasons, the arrest of the Jiang Qing clique could only be carried out by wit and not by force. By coincidence, the Jiang Qing clique had at that time just sent Xu Haitao to external locations on the assignment of investigating cases concerning "counter-revolutionary rumors." This provided auspicious conditions for taking smooth action.

Jiang, Zhang and Yao Are Seized in the Earthquake Shelter

The plan to take action at the time was: Hua Guofeng and Ye Jianying would remain at the Military Commission to give commands from a central location; Wang Dongxing and Su Zhenhua would lead troop unit No 8341 and the guard battalion of the Naval Commanding Headquarters to take the responsibility of arresting Jiang, Zhang, Yao and Wang; the Beijing garrison district commanding officer Wu Zhong [0702 1813] would lead units to carry out arrests in different localities in the municipality where core elements of the Jiang Qing cliques were scattered. Jiang, Zhang and Yao were arrested within Zhongnanhai; at the time the three were discussing some matters in the earthquake shelter especially built for Mao Zedong. When Wang and Su entered the shelter, Zhang and Yao docilely submitted to arrest without any resistance. Only Jiang Qing put up a great fuss, crying and scolding: "The Chairman's corpse is not yet cold, you have already started to do a think like this; what else can it be if not a counterrevolutionary coup?!" Suddenly, the soldiers

around her were all stunned. Su Zhenhua quickly stepped forward, saying: "Others may be afraid of you, but I am just not." Whereupon he pulled off Jiang Qing's wig in one sweep. Thus, Jiang Qing became bald-headed; she started to jump and scold, turning herself into the posture of a shrew hurling abuses at people in the street in the eyes of the soldiers. Her earlier image as a "banner bearer" became completely dissipated, and some even could not help laughing out loud. As for Wang Hongwen, he was arrested at his Diaoyutai residence; at the time Jin Zumin was also there asking for instruction from Wang about making a report, and the two of them were thus arrested together. After this battle of "eliminating the four pests" was successfully fought, the Jiang Qing clique was transferred under guard to a place in the Western Hills in the outskirts of Beijing for detention. By this time, the Jiang Qing clique had already completely disintegrated; what was left was only the question of gradually eliminating the ramifications of the clique in the various localities and departments, which was not so hard to solve.

Mao Zedong Weakens Lin Biao's Forces on a "Zip-up" Pretext

As for the process through which the Lin Biao clique met its downfall, publications at home and abroad have already revealed not a few internal details; we should not be burdened with it in the limited space here. I wish merely to relate several secret stories which are known to few outsiders.

The documents the Chinese Communists issued on the Lin Biao case have been conveyed to various recipients at different times and with different depths as to their contents; the happenings they cover can hardly explain certain major events in the case. This writer shall expound several key questions in the following.

At what time, after all, did Mao Zedong decide to put the elimination of Lin Biao's forces on the agenda? Chinese Communist documents suggest that in the morning of 26 August 1970, Li Xuefeng [2621 7185 1496] and Zheng Weishan, taking a cue from Lin Biao, put forward the call in the North China Group's No 6 Bulletin that they had concocted that "we must install a Chairman of the Republic"; Lin Biao's ambition to usurp party and state power was thus revealed and this called forth Mao Zedong's vigilance. Consequently, Mao Zedong proceeded to adopt the strategies of "throwing out rocks" (criticizing Chen in a rectification drive), "digging away corners of the wall" (appointing Li Desheng concurrently as commanding officer of the Beijing military district to replace Zheng Weishan), and "mixing with sand" (placing Zhang Caiqian [1728 2088 0578] and others in the operational team of the Military Commission), and apply all three of them simultaneously in order to prepare for what was going to happen. But the actual situation was simply not thus. As we trace back to June 1969, shortly after the conclusion of the 9th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, the rupture between Mao and Lin had already started to widen. As early as 1967 when the "516th Corps" bombarded Zhou Enlai, Mao already sensed that Lin Biao had the intent to seize the power of the State Council. After the 96th Congress, Mao again thought that Lin Biao's faction of military men were expanding their forces too fast, and these supercilious military men were also very docile toward Lin Biao and very coherent as a group, so that one day they might become a hidden source of trouble. He therefore held a discussion with his most trusted confidant Ji Dengkui (the relationship between Ji and Mao is very special, and Mao follows his advice willingly: let me write a separate article to describe this elsewhere) on how to

prevent what might happen. Ji proposed to carry out another great transfer of troops across the country in the name of a "zip-up" drill, following such a great transfer of troops at the beginning of the year when the Sino-Soviet border conflict broke out, and, in order to shield the truth from people, at the same time prescribe that various industrial and mining enterprises should also carry out medium-distance and short-distance "zip-up" drills. In order to calm down Lin Biao at the time, Huang Yongsheng was asked to serve as nationwide "zip-up" drill commander-in-chief. After this "zip-up" drill plan was carried out, the deployment of troops would be completely changed; if then Lin Biao was to resist Mao's intentions, he would find that the situation was now stacked against him and it would be hard for him to take action any longer.

Mao Orders Huang, Wu, Ye, Li and Qiu To Write Self-examinations

What was Lin Biao's reaction after the Second Plenary Session of the 9th Party Central Committee? At the plenary meeting, Chen Boda took the lead to advocate the "theory of genius," and he also issued the call that "we must install a Chairman of the Republic"; Mao Zedong scolded him for resorting to plots and tricks and criticized him by name. Chen was unwilling to submit and walked to the microphone in an attempt to speak in order to delineate the truth; but he was stopped by Wu Faxian [0702 3127 2009] and Li Zuopeng [2621 0155 7720], as the latter urged him to withdraw. After the meeting, Mao specifically asked members of the operational team of the Military Commission Huang, Ye, Wu, Li and Qiu to carry out a self-examination. At the time, Huang Yongsheng did not attend the plenary session but remained in Beijing to guard the "homeground"; but he, too, must examine himself this time. Very obviously, the confrontation was aimed at Lin Biao, who was behind them. Lin knew very well Mao's intention, and hence sent Ye Chun to tell the other four: "We cannot submit to any requirement of self-examination; if we can drag a little longer, let us drag. Since we do not think we have been wrong, why write any self-examination? Once our self-examinations are submitted, they are bound to be circulated to the whole Army; Vice Chairman Lin will be put in the defensive even further." Thus, ignoring Wang Dongxing's repeated reminders to submit them, this band of people simply stood their ground and refused to write their self-examinations; they even blacked out the news and refused to convey the internal situation to ministerial cadres in the Headquarters of the General Staff. At one time, Huang Yongsheng had some thoughtful reflection and hence wrote a poem in the classic style: "The historical records having dissipated and the imperial cause remaining unfulfilled, the strategic passes and rivers encompass the residence of our fatherly dragon in vain. The cinders in the pit not yet cold but Shandong already in the midst of rebellion, [I only realize now that] Liu [Bang] [0491 6721] and Xiang [Yu] [7309 5038] (imperial contestants of the Han Dynasty) never bothered to read." He felt miserable, indeed. The feet-dragging lasted until April the following year, on the eve of the convening of the criticize-Chen and rectification briefing session by the Party Central Committee (i.e., the 99-person meeting), when the five finally reluctantly submitted their self-examinations.

Political Commissar Reveals Secret in Wuhan

In February that year, when Lin Biao was accompanied by Ye Chun to go southward to Suzhou for a convalescent rest, he held conversations with the southern air force

cronies only in an apparent attempt to round up devoted support and bolster their morale in general, as he still did not touch upon any plotting for a coup. In the meantime, however, Lin Liguo was secretly planning how to handle the contingency together with little fleet members Zhou Yuchi [0719 1342 7459] (deputy director of Air Force Party committee office), Yu Xinye [0151 2450 6851] (deputy bureau chief, Air Force Party committee office), and Li Weixin [2621 0251 0207] (deputy chief, secretariat of Political Department, 4th Army of the Air Force), and eventually formulated the now obviously murderous "'571 Engineering' Outline"; this was, of course, done at the suggestion of Lin Biao himself. And even in this "Outline," two strategic kinds of timing consideration were mentioned in bringing off the coup: "One kind is when we are prepared and able to eat them up. The other kind is when we discover that the enemy is opening his mouth to eat us up, when we are seriously threatened; then, whether we are prepared or not, we must put up a final struggle." The emphasis was still placed on "preparation." This shows that at that time Lin Biao still did not make up his mind to gamble away all he had in an ultimate battle.

Then, at what time did Lin Biao decide to proceed with his coup plan?

In mid-August, Mao Zedong once more went southward on an inspection trip along either bank of the Changjiang River. While in Wuhan, he called forth First Political Commissar of the Wuhan Military Region Liu Fengshi [0491 6265 2514], and revealed his intention to rectify Lin Biao shortly. Little did he expect that Liu privately conveyed details of the conversation in his report to Lin Biao. Lin thereby sensed that the great catastrophe was now hanging over his head; if he continued to drag on passively any longer, he would end up in a fate not unlike that of Liu Shaoqi. He was naturally not willing to tie up his own hands and let others grab him, so he immediately ordered the execution of the "'571 Engineering' Outline." In the accusations made by the Chinese Communist Party against Lin Biao regarding his attempt to assassinate Mao Zedong, the Training Corps and the three-states and four-sides conference represent the key questions.

Lin Biao's Secret Espionage Team

The Training Corps was a unit under the direct jurisdiction of the headquarters of the 4th Army of the Air Force. At first, Lin Liguo considered that even though the 4th and the 5th Army of the Air Force were principal forces of the Lin faction, there would be still sensitivities in drawing troops therefrom to handle the matter of assassinating Mao Zedong; therefore, it was still necessary to establish another fully obedient unit for espionage work. Thus he asked Li Weixin to set up a Training Corps in the name of training basic-level cadres after obtaining the approval of the Army's party committee; the men included numbered more than 120, and their internal discipline was extraordinarily strict. The Training Corps devoted all its time to carrying out training on espionage work; it also possessed a batch of instruments and materials for espionage work imported from abroad in preparation for the contingency, and it also had many cars and motorcycles. Its mechanized mobility was therefore very strong. In order to keep the Corps strictly secret, Lin Liguo ordered that no natives of Shanghai be recruited. The Training Corps was stationed at Xinhua Villa No 1; the former consulate general of India in Shanghai was also one of the places for its activities. Inside the Training Corps, it exalted the "Eda Jima" spirit, calling upon everyone to have no fear of death. It was a reliable espionage unit under the direct jurisdiction of the little fleet.

Jiang Tengjiao and the "Three-states and Four-sides Conference"

The "three-states and four-sides conference" was a meeting organized by Lin Biao's cronies for the assassination of Mao Zedong. The "three-states" meant the Air Force Command Headquarters in the Nanjing Military District, the 4th Army of the Air Force stationed in Jiangsu, and the 5th Army of the Air Force stationed in Zhejiang; the "four-sides" meant Zhou Jianping [0719 1696 1627], commanding officer of the Southern Air Force, Wang Weiguo [3769 4850 0948], political commissar of the 4th Army of the Air Force, Chen Liyun [7115 0536 5089], political commissar of the 5th Army of the Air Force, and Jiang Tengjiao [3068 7506 5754], former political commissar of the Southern Air Force who served as the liaison man among the others. After Lin Biao made the decision to bring off the coup, it fell upon Jiang Tengjiao to traverse busily the Nanjing-Shanghai-Hangzhou route in conveying Lin's instructions and in secretly plotting the concrete deployment for Mao's assassination. Accompanying Jiang was also a secretary of Lin. Lin's self-placating calculation was: First schedule, to take advantage of Mao Zedong's inspection tour in the south, he would let the three-states and four-sides conference wait for an opportunity to carry out the assassination; at the same time, he would make surprise arrests of various responsible persons at the Party Central Committee in Beijing, so that operations in the south and the north would coordinate with each other in order to finish the job in a single battle. Second schedule, he would personally lead his trusted subordinates to escape southward by plane to his old nest in Guangzhou, where he would establish a puppet Party Central Committee in competition with the one under Mao and thereby create a situation of a Southern Dynasty confronting a Northern Dynasty. Third schedule, if the worst should come to the worst, then the best of all the 36 plots would be to scuttle the whole thing and escape abroad to the Soviet Union and seek shelter there. But Lin Biao's hope was pinned on the smooth execution of the first schedule.

Wang Weiguo Cringes From Assassination at Crucial Moment

Jiang Tengjiao maintained that when Mao Zedong arrived in Shanghai, Wang Weiguo must have an opportunity to pay him a respectful visit; if he could then risk his life to hurl a blow, would not the job easily get done? But Wang became disheartened when the opportunity approached, saying that this simply could not be done because before he could pay a respectful visit to Mao personally, he had to submit to a search by instruments; whoever carried a weapon on his person would cause the instruments to react accordingly, thus becoming exposed. Upon hearing this, Jiang was forced to think of a second best, telling Wang that, once Mao had arrived in Shanghai, Wang should take up the responsibility of waiting for the opportunity to carry out the assassination. Wang still tried to make some excuse, Jiang and others began to show displeasure on their faces, saying: "The chief (meaning Lin) is very dissatisfied with you. Chen Liyun has already agreed that once Mao has arrived in Hangzhou, he would take the responsibility to solve the matter; why should you still refrain from demonstrating your attitude?" Wang could no longer back out; so he finally bowed to the urging.

Jiang Tengjiao Lays the Land and Air Snares

Because Wang Weiguo was political commissar of the air force stationed in Shanghai and serving concurrently as director of the military control commission over the

public security-procuratorate-court systems in Shanghai Municipality, he had at his disposal the Training Corps and also the assistance of Li Songting [2621 2646 0080], chief of the Shanghai Municipal Guards Department; these conditions thus objectively provided Wang with the possibility of successfully assassinating Mao Zedong. Wang also had another scheme which was most vicious and according to which even if Mao left Shanghai safely he still could not escape death. It turned out that Wang had in mind another ingenious tack; he figured that Mao could return to the north only via two routes: one was by plane, and the other was to take the Shanghai-Nanjing train. If he should take the plane, he would be obviously taking the route of sure death; but even if he should take the train, he could still hardly escape with his life, as Wang had already ordered the artillery unit stationed at Sofang (near Wuxi) to get ready and not to let the train pass safely.

Lin Doudou's Enigma

By the time Mao Zedong safely arrived in Beijing in the protective company of Xu Shiyu and Wang Hongwen, the rank-and-file of the Lin Biao faction turned topsy-turvy and all scrambled for their lives. In the early morning of 13 September, Lin Biao, Ye Chun, Lin Liguang and several confidants such as Liu Peifeng [0491 3099 6265] and others boarded Trident jet No 256 to flee abroad, which soon fell to its destruction near Undur Khan inside Mongolia. According to Chinese Communist documents, the reason Lin Biao's treacherous plot became exposed was because his own daughter Lin Doudou came forward to inform against him. The fact was that, after Lin Doudou learned about the directive Lin Biao had issued on the coup, she vehemently expressed her opposition and was therefore locked up in the movie projection room of his private residence by Lin Biao. Then, in the middle of the night, when the guards hardly expected it, she crawled through the vent duct of the room and escaped across the fields. She then went to troop unit No 8341, which was stationed at Beidaihe, to report on Lin Biao's coup deployment. As a matter of fact, in the case of children of central chieftains volunteering to serve the cause of justice above their family sentiments, Liu Tao [0491 3447] had set the first example and until now few had followed suit. But Lin Biao was a cunning schemer with experience in stormy events; at the point of executing such a life-and-death matter, how could he have let Lin Doudou get away after locking her up? This is likely to remain an enigma forever, and we can only leave it unanswered here.

Jinan Political Commissar Sheds Tears for Lin Biao

"Fellows like you have now perished both with your person and your reputation, only the indestructible rivers flow forever." Lin Biao, this treacherous schemer in China's modern history, was buried in fire together with his whole family; there are of course reasons for him to deserve such a death. When people of the country learned about this, they all congratulated themselves. But, in exercising control over his subordinate military men, Lin Biao also had a set of peculiar devices. Therefore, among the major hilltops of Chinese Communist military establishments, the men under the Lin Biao faction and the He Long faction were the two great aggregations with most outstanding internal coherence. Lin Biao's death caused great consternation amongst the Chinese Communist military units; among high-ranking cadres, there was hardly a lack of those who continued to think of their old chief and who expressed sorrow for him. For instance, Yuan Shengping [5913 0581 1627],

current political commissar of the Beijing Military District, was subject to rectification at the 10th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1973 reportedly because he was disgruntled by Wang Hongwen's selection as vice chairman of the party. But a distant reason may be traced to the Lin Biao incident, actually. At the time, Yuan served as political commissar of the Jinan Military District. When he relayed the internal document on Lin Biao's death while fleeing abroad at the standing committee meeting in the Military District, Yuan could hardly hold back his tears because of the sorrow he felt for him. Someone then questioned him: "Traitor Lin bolted his country and paid with his life, everybody feels highly gratified; yet you are shedding tears for him. What is your intention?" Yuan wiped away his tears and argued: "I heard that traitor Lin was crazy and insane and attempted to plot against the chairman; I am deeply saddened. Therefore I can't help shedding tears." Commanding officer Yang Dexhi [2799 1779 1807] of the Jinan Military District was an upright and considerate person and did not wish to meddle in such a matter. But later someone else still tried to ingratiate himself and submit a report, which thus sowed the seeds of misfortune for Yuan.

Young Officers Who "Sacrifice Their Lives To Preserve Their Integrity"

Furthermore, people of the little fleet under the command of Lin Liguo were also young officers who would not mind going through water and fire for their chief and who were determined that "if they do not succeed, they would sacrifice their lives to preserve their integrity." Among these, Zhou Yuchi was particularly outstanding. In the early days of the Cultural Revolution, Zhou performed repeated feats and offered not a few efforts in behalf of the senior and junior Lin in their attempt to gerrymander the military and seize power and in their plotting activities; he was the most trusted confidant of Lin Liguo, and even Lin Biao appreciated his talents. As the break-up between Mao and Lin became imminent, Lin Liguo first of all talked with Zhou about how to cope with the matter. Zhou was of the opinion that if he started only then to think of a way to cope with the matter, the grave mistake had already been made because, when Mao and Lin were cooperating closely with each other at first, a decisive step could still be taken; now that Mao had already become deeply suspicious, the situation was as obstructive as it was prohibitive. If a risky attempt was now made, it would be doubly difficult; the only thing they could do was to ignore the consequences and go ahead, braving the risks and the difficulties. In Lin Biao's coup plotting, Zhou offered many ghost pointers. When Lin Biao fled abroad in a hurry, Zhou immediately took Yu Xinye and Li Weixin and sneaked into a certain military airport in Beijing in the dark night in the company of deputy battalion leader Chen Shiyin [7115 1102 0603]; they woke up squadron leader Chen Xiwen [7115 0208 2429], and tried to escape in a helicopter. As the craft took off, it was intercepted by Chinese Communist fighter planes; Chen Xiwen also discovered the intention of Zhou and others. Thus the helicopter was compelled to land. Then, Zhou Yuchi and Yu Xinye took out their pistols and committed suicide at once; but Li Weixin was afraid of dying, and he was thus spared as a living witness. The "Bushido" spirit of Zhou and Yu later became known to Jiang Qing, who could not help praising them incessantly. In her conversations with her cronies, Jiang Qing repeatedly mentioned Zhou and Yu as examples and encouraged them to follow their spirit of "success or death."

High-ranking Cadres Owing Allegiance to Jiang Qing

After the collapse of the Jiang Qing clique, there were also similar examples. Pursuant to the "6 October" incident, Ma Tianshui [7456 1131 3055], secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee who was well known as an old trickster, questioned Hua Guofeng face to face at the meeting of various provincial and municipal responsible persons convened by the Party Central Committee: "If there were differences, would it not have been better if the two sides had sat down and discussed a little? Why was it necessary to have them arrested?" Hua gave him a devious rebuke, saying: "My dear old Ma, they conducted themselves recklessly at the Party Central Committee; even you would not have been able to stand them if you were here!" After Lai Keke [6351 0668 0668], secretary of the Zhejiang Provincial Party Committee (also an old cadre who had sold his soul) returned to Hangzhou, he publicly declared at a meeting of the standing committee of the Provincial Party Committee at one time: "I have seen the chairman's handwriting many times. That slip 'with you in charge, I am at ease' simply does not look like his own handwriting. Furthermore, why were we shown only a photoduplicated copy and not the original writing?" After Xi Henghan [6405 1854 3352], first secretary of the Gansu Provincial Party Committee, returned to Lanzhou, what he said at a meeting of the standing committee of the Provincial Party Committee was even more intriguing. He said: "What an important matter it was to change 'Carry out according to past policies' into 'Carry out according to established policies'! And Hua Guofeng is also a careful person. How can it be said that he did not notice at first, but realized the incongruous proposition only some days later? Not to mention that, in the case of the slip 'Get on with it slowly, don't incur anxiety,' even if it were true, the way the chairman put down 'incur anxiety' instead of 'get anxious' at least shows that the chairman had become senile." Examples like these were quite numerous. That these old cadres of the Chinese Communist Party, knowing that the general conclusion was already foregone and aware of the consequence of their own expressions, still chose to express themselves this way was obviously because the words were like pricks in their throats, which they just had to spill out in order to feel better. (To be continued)

9255

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PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO CLARIFY DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM EMPHASIZED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 16 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Ma Ming [7456 7686]: "Does the Communist Party 'Particularly Want Centralization'"]

[Text] The people have recently devoted a lot of time to discussing the problems concerning democratic centralism. But their interpretation and comprehension of democratic centralism from the theoretical point of view often vary from person to person. For example, one opinion holds that in a sense, the Communist Party not only needs democracy but it particularly needs centralism. In this expression, "in a sense" originally had no specific meaning; it could be explained in all sorts of ways. And the proposition that the Communist Party "particularly wants centralism." Is this formulation consistent with the principle of democratic centralism? Can it be the form of democratic centralism that we must uphold today or in the days ahead?

I think that this ideological confusion about democratic centralism which existed in the past frequently led to the separation of democracy from centralism and therefore became the source of certain maladies. It is essential to bring these up and discuss them.

Democratic centralism is a comprehensive and organic whole. Only by comprehending and mastering it as a whole can we correctly uphold this basic system. The reasons are as follows:

First, democracy means a rule by the majority. During the socialist period a minority within either the ranks of the party or the people can disregard the will, aspirations, demands and decisions of the majority, inner-party democracy and socialist democracy will become meaningless. Clearly, both inner-party and socialist democracy require that the minority must obey the majority and must abide by the rule of the majority. Within the framework of democratic centralism, obedience is synonymous with centralization. Because of this, the subordination of a minority to the majority is at the heart of both democracy and centralism. There is no insurmountable gap between democracy and centralization. We usually speak of "correctly understanding the dialectical relationship between democracy and centralism." This actually refers to correctly handling the principle that the minority must obey the majority. Second, the "democracy" in democratic centralism means democracy under centralized

guidance; centralism means centralism on a democratic basis. From this, we cannot draw any conclusion that democracy and centralism have important points, less important points and unimportant points, or that one comes first and the other comes second. Third, within the framework of democratic centralism, without democracy there is no centralism and without centralism there is no democracy. They are both indispensable. In other words, democracy always goes with the relevant centralism; the level and scope of democracy reflect the level and scope of centralization and vice versa. The process of developing and perfecting democracy is also a process of strengthening and perfecting centralization. When centralization is correctly upheld, democracy will certainly develop vigorously. What people usually speak of as upholding and perfecting the socialist democratic system does not conflict with upholding and perfecting socialist centralism. Likewise, the contention that the Communist Party "particularly wants centralism" is the same thing as the contention that the Communist Party particularly wants democracy. Lopsided emphasis of any aspect of democracy and centralization or emphasis of democracy at one time and of centralization at another time is not centralism on the basis of democracy or democracy under centralized guidance. Nor is it consistent with the principle of democratic centralism.

After the fall of the "gang of four," understanding of democratic centralism rose considerably, but errors in comprehension and grasping still occurred. For example, some comrades say that one of the reasons for the growth of the feudal patriarchal system and the practice of one person having the say was the departing from democracy and emphasizing centralism. Roughly speaking, this contention appears justified. But a careful analysis reveals that it is unscientific. Because the feudal patriarchal system and the practice of one person having the say oppose and negate democratic centralism, it is impossible to speak of any departure from democracy or centralism (within the limits of democratic centralism). In other words, the patriarchal system and one-man rule that exist in our party and national political life have absolutely no necessary connection with democratic centralism. Anyone who departs from the democratic interpretation of centralism is already 18,000 miles from democratic centralism. If we blame the existence of the patriarchal system and the one-man rule in our system on those who have departed from democracy and emphasized centralism, we may ignore and deny the harsh fact that the residual influence of feudal autocracy still holds sway over our party and national political life. We may also create a misunderstanding that democratic centralism itself may lead to the growth of the patriarchal system and one-man rule. This notion is as absurd as the misconception that the socialist system may lead to bureaucracy. Therefore, the imperfections and loopholes in the system of democratic centralization are only external manifestations of the continued existence and development of the vestiges of feudal autocracy. The ultimate reason for this can be found in the "vestiges" of the several thousand years-old tradition. If we put the cart before the horse in this connection, we will cause great confusion. There are also some comrades who contend that today, there is not enough democracy and even less centralization. This word "even" presents a problem. Actually it separates democracy from centralization. This is not hard to prove. Other comrades often put anarchism on a par with democracy and mistake certain antidemocratic and antisocial acts for a departure from centralism and an overemphasis of democracy. They always complain that "we have gone

too far in practicing democracy, and there is too little centralism," and seek to strengthen "centralism." These views are even more incompatible with democratic centralism.

Some people may ask: Why does interpretation of democratic centralism vary from person to person? There are many reasons, the most important of which are:

First, some comrades still fail to view democratic centralism as a comprehensive and organic system.

Second, it is related to the idea of looking on democracy as a means and centralism as the end. From this, some comrades have even drawn a series of incorrect conclusions that democracy reflects the masses' immediate interests while centralism reflects their long-term interests. From the Marxist point of view, democracy and centralism are part of the superstructure, and must both serve the economic base.

How can we view only democracy as part of the superstructure and not centralism? The aim of democracy is to make the masses masters of their own affairs and their own country. How can anyone call this a means? Won't democratic centralism be distorted beyond recognition by calling democracy the means and centralism the end? The argument that democracy is a means is clearly specious. Why must we continue to hold on to it?

Third, after entering the socialist period, we continued to mechanically apply Lenin's theories, put forth when the party was founded, about the party's role in the dictatorship and the party being the tool of dictatorship. Many comrades were deeply influenced by this, and the concept of democratic centralism became extremely weak, so much so that people frequently became used to the idea that the Communist Party "particularly needs centralism" and saw centralism as more important than democracy. It is understandable that Lenin, under the special historical conditions of that time, emphasized centralization and stressed that the greatest power must be in the hands of the highest leadership. But today, the situation we are in is very different. The proletariat has not only seized political power and become the ruling party but also has eliminated the exploiting classes and the system of exploitation throughout the country (with the exception of Taiwan). Under these conditions it would clearly be unrealistic to continue to hold on to Lenin's viewpoints discussed above, to use them as guidelines for building the party and national political life, and to neglect the need to improve and perfect the system of democratic centralism.

Years of practice have repeatedly proven that any theoretical confusion may harm practice. This also applies to the problem of democratic centralism. In order to gradually improve and perfect democratic centralism, continue to strengthen the party's leadership, and to improve socialist democracy, we must continue to emancipate our minds, make further efforts to interpret democratic centralism from the theoretical point of view, and further unify understanding. We must no longer be constrained by "in a sense."

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ELITISM IN EDUCATION DEBATED

Paris LE MONDE in French 6 Dec 80 p 5

[Article by Alain Jacob: "Does Elitism Favor Development?"]

[Text] About 2 years ago, the deliberately elitist orientation imposed on the initiative of Deng Xiaoping to the Chinese educational system aroused keen reactions in teaching circles themselves (LE MONDE, 7 June 1978). These 2 years of experience have in no way calmed the concerns expressed then, and the discussion is resuming again now with increased asperity.

The discussion has mainly to do with the organization of higher studies, and pits the proponents of the system reserving the benefits of such studies for a small minority of individuals against the supporters of a reform making it possible to substantially expand student enrollment. The former maintain that only a harsh limitation on university admissions will make it possible to reestablish "quality" education and to train specialists, in particular scientists, in limited but highly skilled numbers, on a level comparable to the holders of degrees from higher educational establishments in the most developed Western countries. Still further, in order to achieve this goal more certainly, China should focus the maximum of resources on the "pilot" establishments (about 100 out of a total of 630 in higher education) and deliberately assign priority to the most gifted individuals. These comments were very clearly set forth by Deng Xiaoping himself in the spring of 1978 and they serve as the basis for the policy pursued since that time.

The objections which were raised 2 years ago were mainly of a political nature. The reversal was too extreme in relation to preceding guidelines and the opponents were concerned about a system which would automatically favor the children coming from intellectual families or those on a social level comfortable enough to provide them with an environment involving much better preparation for higher studies than a peasant or worker background.

The discussion moved to the technical level and led to rather remarkable revelations about the development of higher education in China for 30 years. Two of the most adamant proponents of the need for expanded enrollment, Wu Mingyu and Bao Dong, published a most enlightening article in RENMIN RIBAO, with the information that the number of secondary-school graduates accepted that same year in a higher educational institution had dropped from 66.7 percent in 1957 to 45.6 percent in 1965 and 3.8 percent in 1979. Examinations, parallel to this, have become

a selective barrier. In 1952, 1 out of every 16 applicants was accepted for university studies, while by 1980 the figure was only 1 out of every 78 applicants.

Is this development inevitable, the two authors ask, because of the population explosion the country had experienced? Apparently not, if what took place during the same period of time within the university world was considered. In the higher educational establishments of China as a whole, there was on an average in 1952 1 instructor for every 7.1 students. This latter figure has steadily declined, being only 6.3 in 1957, 4.9 in 1965 and 4.3 in 1979. Again here it is a matter of a national average, for in the 48 universities and institutes in Shanghai, currently, there are only 3.9 students for every instructor. The question asked by Wu Mingyu and Bao Dong was whether such a situation is normal. If each of the 200,000 instructors in the higher educational institutions of China were to take on but 1 additional student, the total number of additional students would increase by almost 20 percent.

Is this a purely theoretical calculation which ignores the necessary material means? No, these same authors reply, for if traditionally Chinese students live entirely on the campuses of their universities--which presumes buildings to house them--there is nothing to prevent enrolling day students, for whom the "maintenance cost" is only about a ninth what it costs for their boarding comrades.

The proponents of the current system, basing their view on a speech by Minister of Education Jiang Nanxiang himself, delivered last 24 July, stating yet once again that "the stress should be placed on the quality of education" and not on increasing the numbers of those benefiting from it, voiced the cry "Stop right there!"

Winning the Nobel Prize

This is precisely what Wu Mingyu and Bao Dong, along with many others, dispute. They in turn say that if there are not millions, indeed tens of millions, of specialized and skilled workers, what sense is there to speeches about the training of thousands or tens of thousands of scientists of the first rank? What useful role could they play if they are not assured a foundation by the former level? It can be observed that if Nobel Prizes are more numerous in Great Britain than in West Germany or in Japan, the economic power of the United Kingdom is nonetheless far inferior to that of these two countries. Why? Because insufficient attention is devoted there to the training of qualified "intermediary" personnel.

The discussion, as can be seen, ranges wide and in the end raises the question of the method of development toward which China should be oriented. Like it or not, the "qualitative" faction, currently supported by the regime or at least by the dominant faction within it, is a part of a very ancient Chinese educational tradition according to which knowledge should be both profound and a privilege of a few, and which regards those who would promote a broader, in a word more democratic, concept of education as "egalitarians."

One of the positive aspects of this discussion is that it challenges a certain concept of "return to order" involving the reestablishment, pure and simple, with a few minor changes, of the rules dating back to the 1950's as if nothing

absolutely nothing, should be retained from the experiments subsequent to 1965. It does not stop there and some elected officials, at the last session of the People's National Assembly, expressed surprise that the national budget for education accounts for only 11.27 percent of the total expenditures of the state. They had the decency not to compare this with the 17 percent devoted to the military budget (which is however declining) but the implications remain clear. Is China, at a time when it claims to want modernization at all costs, really making every effort necessary for the development of its human resources? Under these conditions, can one be surprised that the number of applicants to teaching schools is decreasing? Is this not a worrisome sign for the future?

From the technical level, the debate is naturally returning to the political level. But it is remarkable that, at least in this realm, the official line is being openly challenged with so much vigor, in the press as in private conversation. "It can't go on like this" is what one hears from parents whose sons and daughters have just completed their high school studies but haven't even 1 chance out of 200 of acceptance at a university, "pilot" or ordinary.

Need we recall that in the background of this discussion there is a situation wherein 30 percent of the young Chinese peasants are still regarded as "illiterate" and in which 2/3 of the people currently engaging in professional activities and having higher educational qualification are over 36 years of age today? These are not facts which one can ignore in discussing the modernization of China. It is certainly healthy that voices can be raised to sound the alarm and challenge an elitism which cannot be reconciled either with the proposed social advancement or the plans for the development of the economy.

5157
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

SHANDONG TO ESTABLISH MORE TWO-YEAR TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Sep 80 p 3

[Article by Fang Hua (2455 5478) of the Shandong Provincial Department of Education: "Develop More Two-year Higher Special Training Schools"]

[Text] Higher education should incorporate many forms, and many systems. There are 2-year and 3-year special training schools, 4-year and 5-year undergraduate colleges, and after graduating from university one can then take several years of a graduate class; through the many-leveled structure of higher education made up of these several grades, the various levels of specialized talent required to meet the needs of society can be trained. However, at present in higher education in our country, higher special training schools, particularly higher training schools in engineering and agriculture, are being seriously neglected. By the end of 1979, throughout the country there were altogether 651 regular, full-time schools of higher education, of which 26 or 4 percent are higher special training schools in the fields of engineering and agriculture. Of Shandong Province's 13 higher schools of engineering and agriculture, all are regular 4-year undergraduate schools. In 1979 there were 15,130 students attending these schools, of which 14,964 or 99 percent were in 4-year undergraduate programs. There were 39 students in auxiliary 3-year special training courses, and 127 in 2-year special training courses, altogether comprising only 1 percent. During the period of the second five year plan, in Shandong Province there were altogether 17 institutions of higher education in engineering and agriculture, of which nine were higher special training schools, added to which there are the special training departments of 4-year universities, so that special training students occupy about 50 percent of the student body. This proportion is rather appropriate to developing the national economy at present. However, after the 10 years of calamity, for the past few years we have not placed enough importance on the restoration and development of special training schools, with the result that the proportion of undergraduate special training courses has seriously diminished.

Since the 1960's many countries have particularly stressed the development of short, 2-year, technical universities. In 1966, the French Government ordered the construction of this kind of short, 2-year technical university, and at present there are already 66 of them in 56 large cities throughout the country. In 1977 in Japan there were already 511 short, 2-year technical universities with nearly 400,000 students. In America as early as the beginning of the 1970's there were over 1,000 of this kind of 2-year college, comprising one-third of

all the schools of higher education in the country; during the period 1960-1976, the number of students at 2-year colleges in America rose from 450,000 to 2.6 million. This method of theirs is worthy of our drawing a lesson from.

The development of 2-year higher special training schools is a pressing need for building the four modernizations in our country. Following the development of building the four modernizations, there will be a pressing need for more of all kinds of specialized technical talent at the level of specialized university graduates. As for the technical talent needed by the various trades and professions, only if the proportions of the various levels are reasonably structured, their work is properly coordinated, and they are utilized according to the ability of each, can their potential be brought into full play. Because the technical work of the various lines and professions is completed by all kinds of technical personnel of different levels working in concert, since a certain proportion of high-class scientific research personnel is needed, a portion of planning and industrial technological personnel are also needed and, even more, a large number of operational, managerial and maintenance personnel are needed. It is most economical and most reasonable only if these technical personnel of different levels are separately trained in graduate classes of higher schools, undergraduate schools, special training classes, and middle-level special training classes. Looking at it from the point of view of the present situation of personnel needs for building the four modernizations in Shandong Province, there is a proportionately greater need for graduates of higher special training schools. In the entire province at the county level and above there are over 5,900 enterprises, of which 203 are large and middle-level enterprises, and over 5,700 are small. Because the overwhelming majority of these enterprises engages mainly in the production of items having a definite design, they very seldom engage in design or research on new products themselves, so most of their needs are for personnel in manufacturing, industrial technology, and maintenance. The greater part of these technical personnel could be trained by 2-year higher special training schools.

At present, it is completely possible to develop a number of 2-year higher special training schools. In particular, the reform of the financial and economic system has caused to emerge a broad prospect for the development of 2-year higher special training schools. First of all, there has been an active and unprecedented tide in managing education by professional departments and local areas, and they have already begun to integrate closely the training of talent with progress in building the four modernizations in their own system or their own local area, looking at doing a good job of managing the higher special training schools and the training of qualified personnel as the mainstays of realizing the four modernizations. A vice chairman of the Changwei area planning committee says that only if there is a technical work force at a certain level can the quality of industrial products be raised, enabling the products to compete in the market. If we do not get a good hold on the training of personnel, then the products of some factories will not be up to standard, and will not sell in the market, and the factories will have to close down. There are also over a dozen professional/vocational departments, offices, and local areas that require the construction of new 2-year special training schools. Secondly, following the reform of the financial and economic system, professional/vocational departments

and local areas with a comparatively good industrial or agricultural base, with respect to the managing of education have real economic strength as well as the advantage of having become professionalized. In our province quite a few professional/vocational departments and offices have already provided considerable manpower and material resources in support of developing schools of higher education. In 1979 the basic construction investment for higher engineering and agricultural schools affiliated with the province was 3,130,000 yuan, and the concerned professional/vocational departments and offices also separately invested 4 million yuan. Third, the specialized facilities of the 2-year higher special training schools can also be used to meet the urgent needs of their special industry or local area, and to bring into full play the special advantage of their special industry or local area. If with regard to teaching we can also obtain the support of some old schools, then the quality of teaching can definitely be guaranteed.

What can we do to enable 2-year higher special training schools to have a greater development? First, we must carry out a reform of the managerial system, and eliminate the obstacles to developing this kind of school. The right of approving the establishment of this kind of school can be given completely to the province; and those units that run the schools should be given the requisite autonomy in deciding who should manage and supervise them. In the matter of assigning graduates of the schools, priority should be given to the needs of the departments responsible. If they simply expend money without deriving any real benefit they will lack enthusiasm. They should be allowed to set up the special training courses that they urgently need, based on the concrete situation and special advantages of their special industry or local area. Secondly, the schools should be run according to many different styles. From the point of view of the situation in Shandong Province, there should be at least three types: One is an independent 2-year higher special training school established by the professional/vocational department and the local area. By 1985, our province will have prepared several newly-constructed schools, and by 1990 will develop a number more. The second is a school established by a combination of a pre-existing university and the concerned professional/vocational department or local area. Shandong Engineering College is presently engaged in negotiations with the local area of Yantai, which has a rather good industrial base, for the joint establishment of a higher industrial special training school. In this way, the university can bring into full play its advantages in the teaching area, and the local area can bring its economic advantages into full play, the advantages of each complementing each other to effect a greater development. The third is setting up special training departments within regular, 4-year universities. Shandong Province has several 4-year universities that are creating the proper conditions for either setting up special training departments, or having some specialized training courses recruit students for special 2-year training courses, in order to increase their ability to attract students, and train more qualified technical personnel.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WORK OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN SHANDONG UNDER WAY

University Students

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 20 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Work of Recruiting Students for Our Province's Higher Schools Completed"]

[Text] The work of recruiting students for our province's [Shandong] schools of higher education was recently completed, and the various higher schools have, one after the other, begun instruction. Over 15,000 new students, in a jubilant mood, went to the various schools to register and begin their new life of study. According to plan, 15,853 students were to be selected this year, but actually 16,691 were recruited--838 more than the anticipated number. Among them were 12,411 science students, 2,742 liberal arts students, 704 in foreign languages, and 834 in the arts and physical education. Some 14,505 of the new students, or 86 percent, are party and youth group members. This year our province's showing on the higher education entrance examination was better than last year. At the time of recruitment, the liberal arts departments of key colleges, throughout the country generally have a minimum qualifying score of 360; the science department generally has a cut-off score of 395; ordinary liberal arts colleges generally have a cut-off score of 350, with the science departments generally requiring 370; technical and teacher training schools recruited students mainly from the local area.

The various levels of party committee and the people's government all placed great importance on, and augmented their leadership of, the work of recruiting students for schools of higher education. Capital construction departments of the various areas and schools of higher education sped up the construction rate for the capital construction projects, guaranteeing that the new students would begin their studies on schedule.

The work of recruitment for middle-level schools offering special training courses was also completed recently.

Special Classes for Cadres

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 80 p 1

[Article: "Over 600 Middle-Age and Young Cadres in Shandong Province Enter Special Training Classes for Cadres at Universities and Technical Schools"]

[Text] In order gradually to realize making all levels of leading bodies younger, more knowledgeable, and more professional, and to answer the needs of building the four modernizations, the [Shandong] provincial party committee has decided that the work of recruiting students for the first term of the special training classes for cadres begun at our province's eight universities and technical schools have been successfully completed. Shandong University, Shandong College of Economics and the Provincial Committee Party School have each had its opening ceremony on 20 and 23 September; Shandong College of Agriculture, Shandong College of Agricultural Machinery, the Shandong Engineering Institute, the Shandong Teachers' College, and Qufu Teachers' College will commence instruction one after the other in October.

Students for the first term of the special training classes for cadres at our province's eight institutions of higher education were selected by examination. Cadres who took the examination had volunteered, and they were investigated and recommended by their party organizations. This time, a total of 1,427 cadres were recommended for the examination, of whom 611 were selected. Among the cadres selected, 97 percent were key members of all levels of leading bodies at the commune level and above. Included among them were assistant department heads of units directly affiliated with the province government, members of prefectural party committees, secretaries of county committees, heads of counties, secretaries of communes, heads of communes, and cadres of organizations and enterprises at provincial, prefectural, municipal, and county levels occupying posts corresponding to those mentioned above. The overwhelming majority of them have the cultural level of upper middle school graduates and are rather young: Cadres under 35 comprising 86 percent of the total, and the oldest is 45.

The special training classes at the eight institutions of higher education are 2-year courses divided up into specialized classes in party administration, propaganda, education and culture, industry, finance, agriculture and mechanized agriculture. Through their studies, the students will be required to acquire a level in their specialty equivalent to that of a university graduate in that subject, first getting a grasp of the basic knowledge of managing a modern industry, agriculture, finance, propaganda, and culture and education. Students who have already begun their studies, filled with enthusiasm and a sense of responsibility, are applying themselves intensely, determined to start on the way toward becoming more knowledgeable, professionalized cadres.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NORTHEAST PROVINCES EXPAND EDUCATION PROGRAM

OW121246 Beijing XINHUA in English 1239 GMT 12 Jan 81

[Text] Beijing, January 12 (XINHUA)--Heilongjiang and Jilin provinces in north-east China are trying to set up more technical and vocational schools for peasants, it was reported in the GUANGMING DAILY today.

Around thirty percent of young people in the rural areas of Heilongjiang Province are now attending various kinds of training courses.

This province is attempting to set up a "pagoda" education system; that is, the production teams will be in charge of spare-time primary education, the people's communes will set up junior agro-technical schools, and counties will look after intermediate training courses. So far over 17,000 such spare-time primary, junior, and agro-technical schools or classes have been set up across the province.

In addition, the province has helped 80 percent of rural teachers to attend continuation or advanced courses, formed research centers on rural education, and assigned the best-qualified to compile teaching material and textbooks.

Jilin Province concentrates its efforts on improving county schools set up during the Cultural Revolution. 14 of them have become junior colleges or agro-technical schools. They now belong to local governments and will be helped with funds, teachers and facilities. They will offer two-to-three-year courses for cadres from people's communes and production brigades, middle school graduates and graduates from agro-technical schools. After studying in these junior colleges and agro-technical schools, the students will be given certificates and will return to work in their former units.

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

MOVIE ON REUNIFICATION--Changchun, 8 Jan (XINHUA)--The Changchun movie studio recently completed a color story movie, entitled "Qing Tian Hen Hai [1906 1131 1868 3189]," on the lives of three high-ranking Kuomintang military officers who left the mainland for Taiwan 30 years ago. Describing the tragedies caused by the split of the motherland and political prejudices, the movie vividly reflects the Taiwan people's fervent hope for reunification of the motherland and attacks the sinister forces which divide the nation and obstruct reunion between close relatives. The movie will soon be shown at theaters throughout the country. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0252 GMT 8 Jan 81 OW]

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